OUTLINES OF
MODERN EUROPE

BY

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Dedicated to

THE HON'BLE JUSTICE

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE,

Saraswati, Shastra-Vachaspati,

Sambuddhagama-Chakravarti,

Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., D.Sc., F.R.S.E.,

F.R.S.B.,

Ex-Vice-Chancellor

OF THE

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY,

WITH

Kind Permisson.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

European history, above all things, furnishes us with ample illustrations of the course of development which nations pass through in working out their destiny. The principles of government mark the line of such developments, and the noble art of statesmanship works it out. The growth of political life and the development of freedom, the two bases of civilization, have never been so fully worked out as in the history of 'Modern' Europe.

The high degree of civilization attained by the Romans in 'Ancient' Europe was snapped at the root by complete demoralisation of the nation ; the long Imperial rule took away the last vestige of political freedom and the society was debased by corruptions and vices. Thus all Europe plunged into darkness and individual liberty came to an end. The Middle Ages, as Mr. Bryce points out, were 'essentially unpolitical.'

One redeeming feature, however, of the early Middle Ages was the spread of Christianity under the guidance of Rome. The influence gained in this direction was immense, and Rome for sometime was able to keep up the fiction of the Universal State under the name of the Holy Roman Empire. But the Holy Roman Empire never became a reality through the rivalry between the Emperors and the Popes, and ultimately both came into disgrace.

The year 1453 brought the Eastern Empire to an end and substituted in its place the Turks who became a first rate European power. This opened up the eyes of all Europe to the true state of things and the movement of the Renaissance or New Birth of Learning in Italy chastened the views of men, encouraged freedom of thought, and, from the degenerate state of things in the Middle Ages, evolved the 'Modern' Age of light and refinement. A careful study of the Modern European history, therefore, helps us to read the momentous signs of the political life of to-day.

In this humble work, I have attempted to present before the young Indian readers of the European history a broad outline of the history of Modern Europe, omitting no important details. I shall deem my labours amply rewarded if it can satisfy those for whom it is intended.

Lastly, I may, perhaps be permitted here to express my special indebtedness to my affectionate cousin, Babu Sachindranath Dutt, B L , without whose valuable assistance and encouragement the book would never have seen the light

CALCUTTA
July 1914 THE AUTHOR

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION

Although the previous edition of the book had been completely exhausted a year ago, I could not manage, owing to personal difficulties, to bring out the present one, for which I beg to be excused by my kind readers I have re-arranged the whole book and re-written almost all the chapters and made some additions and alterations in order to make the book more up to date A short history of the *'Great War'* has been added which I believe will be interesting to the students of modern European history

A word or two by way of caution to the students It has never been my intention to encourage cramming among them, but to present the subject in the most simple, lucid and attractive way possible, so that they may be led on from this little book to study the special texts relating to the period recommended to them For this reason, I have added a special list of Books for References in the present edition which will be of much help to general readers

While compiling and revising this little book, I have carefully consulted the general works on European History by authors like Adams, Grant, Hazen, Myers, Robinson and Beard, Thatcher and Schwill, &c , the few volumes of *'Cambridge Modern History'* and of *'Periods of European History'*, as also other special works on the different periods, for which help I should express my deep obligation to those authors and editors Again, I cannot but thank the readers for the generous way in which they received the previous editions

CALCUTTA,
Sept , 1923 D N DUTTA

BOOKS FOR REFERENCE.

AUTHORS.	BOOKS.
Acton, Lord	Lectures on Modern History.
Adams	Growth of the French Nation.
Alison	History of Europe.
Allen	The Great War.
Armstrong	French Wars of Religion.
Beesley	Elizabeth.
Bridges	France under Richelieu and Colbert.
Bright	Maria Theresa.
Bryce	Studies in Contemporary Biography.
Bryce	The Holy Roman Empire.
Bulow, von	Imperial Germany.
Carlyle	Frederick the Great.
Creighton	The Age of Elizabeth.
Dickinson	Revolution and Reaction.
Dutt and Dutt	The Elizabethan Age.
Dyer	Modern Europe.
Fyffe	History of Modern Europe.
Fisher	History of the Reformation.
Fisher	Bonapartism.
Froude	History of England.
Gardiner	The Thirty Years' War.
Gibbons	The New Map of Europe.
Gooch	History of Our Own Times.
Grant	History of Europe.
Green	History of the English People.
Hassall	Louis the Fourteenth.
Hazen	Modern European History
Hazen	Europe since 1815.
Headlam	Bismarck.
Holland	Builders of United Italy.
Hume, Martin	Spain, its Greatness and Decay.
Jacob	Martin Luther.
Kidd	Documents of the Continental Revolution.
Lindsay	History of the Reformation.
Lodge	Modern Europe.
Lodge	Richelieu.
Lowell	Governments and Parties in Continental Europe.
Macaulay	Essay on Frederick the Great.
Marriott	Makers of Modern Italy.
McCarthy	History of Our Own Times.
Morley	Life of Gladstone.
Myers	The Modern Age.

Authors	Books
Noble	Russia and the Russians
Noble	The Russian Revolt
Ogg	Governments of Europe
Philips, Alison	Modern Europe
Phillips	Poland
Prescott	Philip the Second
Ranke	History of England
Rose	Life of Napoleon
Rose	Development of European Nations since 1870
Robinson and Beard	Readings in European History
Signobos	Political History of Europe since 1814
Seymour	Diplomatic Background of the War (1876-1914)
Smith, Munroe	Bismarck and German Unity
Treadwell	Martin Luther and his Work
Tuttle	History of Prussia
Voltaire	The History of Charles the Twelfth
Walpole, Spencer	History of England since 1815
Wasilewski	Peter the Great
Young, Arthur	Travels in France

CONTENTS.

		Page.
Introduction		1
BOOK I. THE ERA OF RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION—		
Chapter I.	European States in Early Modern Age	10
,, II.	Ambitions of France and Spain in Italy	26
,, III.	The Reformation Movement in Europe	36
,, IV.	The Counter-Reformation	72
,, V.	Spain and Revolt of the Netherlands ...	77
,, VI.	The Religious Wars in France ...	94
,, VII.	The Thirty Years' War in Germany ...	108
,, VIII.	Crusade against the Turks ...	122
BOOK II. THE ERA OF ABSOLUTISM—		
Chapter I.	England under the Stuarts ...	124
,, II.	French Monarchy under the Cardinals	135
,, III.	The Age of Louis XIV	142
,, IV.	Sweden and the Rise of Russia ...	162
,, V.	The Empire after the Peace of Westphalia	174
,, VI.	The Rise of Prussia and Partition of Poland	184
,, VII.	England after the Glorious Revolution	207
,, VIII.	The Decline of the French Monarchy ...	220
BOOK III. THE ERA OF REVOLUTION—		
Chapter I.	The French Revolution	228
,, II.	The First Republic in France ...	251
,, III.	Europe in the Napoleonic Regime ...	270
BOOK IV. THE ERA OF RECONSTRUCTION—		
Chapter I.	Reaction *versus* Revolution ...	291
,, II.	France since the Second Republic ...	324
,, III.	The Unifications of Italy & of Germany	334
,, IV.	England in the Nineteenth Century ...	352
,, V.	Russia and the Eastern Question ...	367
BOOK V. THE ERA OF IMPERIALISM—		
Chapter I.	Europe before the Great War ...	378
,, II.	The Great War	384
GENEALOGICAL TABLES		405
QUESTIONS FOR EXERCISES		411
INDEX—Biographical		427

OUTLINES OF
MODERN EUROPE.

INTRODUCTION.

Unity of History :

THE study of History is the study of Man as a political and social being, and is one study. There can be no division in it. Freeman aptly puts it "As man is the same in all ages, the history of Man is one in all ages". The history of Man is an unbroken whole, no part of which can be rightly understood without reference to others. There can be no proper line of demarcation, no special method, to make the so-called 'Ancient' history a separate study from the history of the 'Modern' times. No one can thus deny the great fact of the *Unity of History*, and any attempt in its division is always arbitrary and, if rigidly interpreted, misleading.

The essential unity of History.

The history of the European nations, their institutions, their relations with one another, all form a long series of cause and effect, and to understand even a part of it rightly, we cannot ignore any other part. Thus the student of European history "*must* take in all history within his range." But at the same time it is beyond human power to be equally familiar with each and every part of it, and hence each student chooses a particular period

Traditional divisions of European history into three ages or periods.

or country for his special or minute study. Thus has originated the traditional divisions of European history into *three periods, viz.*, Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern, which however do not in any way affect its essential unity.

The Beginning of Modern Age :

Though the commencement of the migration of the Teutonic races in 375 A.D. serves as a convenient land-mark to demarcate the Ancient from the Mediæval period in European history, it is rather difficult to fix any absolute date of the beginning of the Modern Age as opinions differ on the point. Some historians begin the Modern period from the Fall of Constantiople in 1453 A.D., others from the Discovery of America in 1492 A.D. Both are events of transcendent importance: but we cannot definitely say whether the finding of the New World made the new age, or the new age discovered the New World. Others again take the End of the *Ancient Regime* in France in 1789 A.D. as marking the close of the Middle Age and commencement of the Modern one, but that would be beginning the Modern history too late. For, there is no doubt that the movement which contributed most to the transition from the Mediæval to the Modern Age in European history was the *Renaissance* or the revival of Greek learning and culture which followed the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. People became henceforth imbued with a new spirit of independent enquiry and criticism, and thus was noticeable an unwonted stir within the soul of humanity which led to other momentous events in modern history *viz.*, the Protestant Reformation, the Political Revolution, &c. Rightly, therefore, we should begin

Difficulties of fixing any absolute date.

The Renaissance as marking the beginning of the Modern Age.

the history of Modern Europe from 1453 A.D., and it has been aptly put by Lord Acton that 'Modern history begins under stress of the Ottoman conquest'.

Contrast between Mediæval and Modern Europe:

(a) The Middle Ages knew nothing of the modern conception of the State as a nation; the political unit was neither large, nor fixed as it is now. While the *individual man* is recognised as the unit in modern politics, the mediæval ages considered an *association of men*, the commune or giuld, with some sort of independent municipal government as its political unit. Again, theoretically, the mediæval politics regarded the whole of Christendom as represented by the Holy Roman Empire as a single state, which fiction, however, could not in fact be long maintained owing to the separation of the Church and the State and to the constant quarrel between the Pope and the Emperor weakening both of them. 1. Political.

(b) The unit of society in the Middle Ages was not the *individual* as in modern times, but the *family, guild* or *corporation*. The individual was powerless, unless he could assert himself holding some high office in the Church or in the State. The organisation of the society was *feudal* in its character, and not *industrial* as in modern times. The feudal lord and his vassals in the Middle Ages were bound together by mutualities of service and defence. 2. Social.

(c) Besides, in arts, literature and learning, people in the Middle Ages indulged in abstract speculations, the modern spirit of criticism and enquiry being totally absent. There was no freedom of thought, but blind obedience to 3. Intellectual.

authority. Theology was preferred to scientific studies.

The Transition and its Leading Features :

The notable features that mark the transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern are :

I. The Renaissance :

Spread of Greek culture and learning liberalising the popular mind.

With the capture of Constantinople by Sultan Mahomed II in 1453, the Turks finally settled themselves in Greece and as a consequence the Greek scholars fled therefrom to the Christian kingdoms of Europe. Greek literature and culture thus began to migrate towards the western countries, which brought forth an intellectual upheaval in the minds of men who learnt to think for themselves Learning, so long confined to matters concerning religion only, henceforth came to comprise everything human. This rebirth of learning, or the *Renaissance* as it is called, liberalised the minds of men who began to take a broader view of the world outside, and thereby hastened the inauguration of the Modern Age.

II. The Inventions :

New Inventions opening new fields for commerce and industry.

The introduction of gun-powder altogether altered the conditions of war by diminishing the importance of the feudal nobles of the Middle Ages. The invention of the art of printing opened up a new world of thought and action and helped the spread of learning and growth of indivual liberty ; while the improvement of the Marines' Compass facilitated the navigation and rendered possible the great ocean voyages of the times. New cities also grew up, protected by walls from the depreda-

tions of the feudal nobles which gave a stimulus to the flourishing industry and commerce.

III. The Geographical Discoveries:

The monopoly of trade in the Levant as well as with India and the East so long retained by Venice, which had made her rich, received a death-blow in the hands of the Turks who, finally settling in Europe, soon conquered Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt and began to control the Eastern commercial routes through the Mediterranean. As a consequence, voyages of discovery were undertaken by other European nations to find a new highway to the East other than the Mediterranean. The Portuguese were the first to take up the work under the lead of their energetic and enterprising scion of the royal house, **Prince Henry the Navigator** as he was called, who throughout his life encouraged the mariners of his country to push down the western coast of Africa. After the death of Prince Henry, however, **Bartholomew Dias** succeeded in reaching the Cape of Good Hope (1486), and it was left for **Vasco da Gama**, another Portuguese navigator, to complete the journey round the Cape to the Coast of Malabar in India (1498).

Commencement of the voyages of discovery.

Results of the earlier Geographical Discoveries.

Meanwhile, **Cristopher Columbus**, a Genoese by birth, under the patronage of Queen Isabella of Spain (Castile), discovered the New World for Spain (1492), though it was not until the middle of the sixteenth century that the mainland of the great new double continent of America was found. The unparalleled services rendered by Columbus to Spain and the world were not however fittingly recognised, as the new continent was named after a Florentine navigator, **Amerigo Vespucci**, who wrote

Discovery of the New World, 1492.

the first graphic account of the country. Another Genoese navigator, **John Sebastian Cabot,** under the patronage of King Henry VII of England, made a similar attempt to discover still another passage to India (1497) and though he failed, he was able at least to lay the foundation of the future English colonies of North America. A remakable triumph was however achieved by **Magellan,** a Portuguese serving under Charles V of Spain, who for the first time circum-navigated the globe after suffering almost incredible hardships for more than two years (1519 –22).

Circum-navigation of the Globe, 1522.

Thus, with the opening of the Modern Age, discovery almost became a passion among the chief European nations, specially among the Portuguese and the Spaniards, who began to show a zeal for colonising, governing, and christianising the newly discovered countries. New fields for trade and commerce were now opened before the European peoples, and the Mediterranean ceased to be the highway of international traffic. The countries open to the Atlantic seaboard rose into importance and the commercial supremacy of the Mediterranean countries sank into decay. Besides, these discoveries, widening and liberalising men's thoughts, paved the way for the religious upheaval, the Reformation, that was to follow.

Effects of the discoveries upon the European nations.

IV. Growth of Absolutism :

The feudal nobles were the dominant factors in mediæval European politics; but with the rise of the *People* in the fifteenth century, as the result of growing trades and industries, class-distinctions were gradually weakened and a tendency began to break up the old political forms. An unity of interests

Gradual weakening of class distinctions.

was noticeable among the European people which led to the formation of the European nations: *e.g.*, the union between England and Flanders during the Hundred Years' War which created the French nation and consolidated the English; the union of the Spanish people into one nation as a consequence of the growing danger from the Moors. Further, with the invention of gun-powder, the military services of the nobles were no longer essentially necessary and henceforth their political power began to diminish. The *King* now began to centralise his authority in alliance with the people and set up his absolute sway over all classes of his subjects. This tendency of monarchical absolutism is noticeable in France, in England and in Spain, though with different results.

Formation of the European Nations.

Centralisation of the royal authority leading to monarchical absolutism.

Epochs in Modern History:

For the convenience of study we may divide, though roughly, the history of Modern Europe into the following five epochs;

(I) *The Era of the Renaissance and Reformation*, from 1453 to 1648: with the beginning of the *Renaissance* or the revival of the liberal culture of classical antiquity in Europe, people began to make independent enquiries about everything concerning themselves and the question of religious reform loomed large before the public mind. The European states, in their attempts to break through the oppressive bondages of the mediæval system, became perplexed to conform themselves to the new situation, and after much bloodshed between the champions of Catholicism and Protestantism the religious disputes were settled in the Peace of Westphalia and with them some of the political

The Renaissance and Reformation in Europe, 1453—1648.

problems of the time. "The Reformation was, in fact, a political necessity and national churches were the inevitable counter-parts of the nation-states."

Absolutism in Europe, 1648-1789.

(II) *The Era of Absolutism*, from 1648 to 1789: during this period the European states *generally* adopted the principle of government known as 'Absolutism', and for the sake of territorial aggrandisement became involved in wars with each other. It should be noted, however, that these two tendencies of absolutism and self-aggrandisement were not altogether absent both before and after this period, but they never stood so prominently and side by side in the forefront of European politics at any other time.

Revolution in Europe, 1789-1815.

(III) *The Era of the Revolution*, from 1789 to 1815: this period opened with the momentous political revolution in France which gave birth to the theory of the 'Sovereignty of the People', as also the principle of Nationality in Europe. With it "European history merges in the history of one nation, one event and one man; the nation is France, the event is the French Revolution, and the man is Napoleon."

Reconstruction of Europe, 1815—1899

(IV) The Era of Reconstruction, from 1815 to 1888: during the period, the *governments* of Europe adopting a conservative policy tried to revert to the pre-revolutionary conditions and arrangements, and this led to a further conflict between the principles of monarchical absolutism and the expanding ideas of liberty of the *people* resulting ultimately in the establishment of representative constitutional governments and the reconstruction of states on a new *national* basis.

(V) *The Era of Imperialism*, from 1899 to

modern times; during the closing years of the nineteenth century, the questions at issue between the great Powers of Europe were no longer connected with national aspirations on the mainland of Europe but with imperial ambitions in Asia, in Africa and in the Islands of the South Seas. Early in the twentieth century, this idea of new Imperialism grew in strength and began to threaten Europe with the theory of a world-wide Teuton Empire, the '*Welt-politik*', which found its consummation in the Great European War.

Imperialism in Europe, 1899.

Each of these epochs thus followed some general political principle or idea, some leading motive, for the purpose of administration and continued the work towards the same end, though in new spheres and under different conditions.

General character of the epochs.

Lessons of Modern History:

The history of Modern Europe teaches us how the mediæval conditions of life and thought have been modified, how the *Soul* has come to be considered as more sacred than the *State*, how '*liberty of conscience*' has been developed and as a consequence of it '*political freedom*' has been secured, extended and finally understood. "Its great service is", as Prof. Grant puts it, "to correct national egotism, to allow of unbiassed comparisons between different systems of life and government, and to emphasise the inter-dependence of the different elements of the commonwealth of Europe."

Growth of liberty of conscience and of political freedom.

Inter-dependence of the members of the European commonwealth.

BOOK I.

ERA OF THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION.

1453—1658.

CHAPTER I.

European States in Early Modern Age.

I. Italy:

Absence of political unity in the different states.

The different states in Italy subject to the Holy Roman Empire, could not be controlled by the central authority of the Emperor as they were situated at a great distance from the capital seat of the Emperor. Consequently the leading states in Italy *viz.*, Milan, Naples, the Papal states, Florence, Venice, began to rule in their own way and to struggle with one another for their respective ambitions.

(*a*) *Milan:*

The rule of the Sforzas.

Francesco Sforza, a soldier of fortune, conquered Milan overthrowing the Viscontis, and established his dynasty there (1447). He also annexed Genoa with the help of France (1464). His son, Galeazzo Sforza, ruled despotically for ten years, (1466-76). Lodovico Sforza, uncle of minor prince Gian Galezzo, became Regent and at the instigation of the King of Naples, attempted to make himself Duke with the help of France, which brought ruin upon himself and upon Italy.

(*b*) *Naples:*

Naples passed under Alfonso V, the king of Spain (Aragon, Sicily and Sardinia) after a long

and successful contest with René, the last representative of the French dynasty in Italy (1435). Before his death, he divided his dominions between his brother John (who obtained the Spanish possessions), and his natural son, Ferdinand (who became king of Naples). Soon however, Naples became a bone of contention between France and Spain, till after a long struggle it was definitely annexed by Spain *(Vide Bk. I. Ch. II.)*.

Spanish rule over Naples begins with Alfonso V.

Struggle between Spain and France for Naples, 1503.

(c) *The Papal States :*

The temporal dominions of the Pope included Rome, Romagna, and Ancona, which were the donations, real or pretended, from the Roman Emperors and Frankish kings. The Papal authority had been reduced to a shadow during the Great Schism (1378-1477), after which Martin V. re-established his authority at Rome. Henceforth the Popes, during their short tenures, tried to advance the interests of their families, and nepotism was carried to an extreme. The morality of the Popes became so low that Innocent VIII did not hesitate to acknowledge his natural sons. His successor, Alexander VI, encouraged the plans of Louis XII of France in his invasion of Milan in order to carve out with his help a strong principality in Italy for his unscrupulous son, **Cæsar Borgia,** and had the petty tyrants of his states massacred and established a mastery over the hereditary dominion of St. Peter. Cæsar Borgia, conquered Romagna and other small states of central Italy with the aid of the French troops, and did not scruple to remove by poison or dagger any one of his adherents even, who was supposed to stand in his way. He began to skilfully play off France against Spain in order

States of the Church acquire solidarity.

Cæsar Borgia helps the unity of Central Italy.

to achieve his policy of establishing a great secular power out of the states of the church. After Alexander's death, however, Cæsar's attempt to secure a Pope of his own choice failed, and being imprisoned he was compelled to surrender his territories to Pope Julius II. He then escaped to France where he died in a civil war. Pope Julius II (1503-13) and his successor Leo X (1513-21), were great patrons of arts and letters; though not great spiritual lights.

(d) *Florence:*

The rule of the Medici.

Florence, the home of republican liberty in the fourteenth century, lost her constitution under the Albizzis. Cosimo de Medici (1438-64) overthrew the Albizzi family taking up the cause of the lower classes, and established a sort of enlightened despotism. The Medici never forgot that their power was due to their championship of democratic equality and hence they were careful enough to exercise their authority without colliding with the prejudices of the masses. Maintaining friendly relations with Milan and Naples, Cosimo acted as a mediator in Italian politics. His son, Piero, (1464-69) suppressed a rebellion instigated by Venice.

Their domestic policy—'enlightened despotism'.

Lorenzo, the son of Piero, (1469-92) followed the peace-policy of his grandfather by maintaining the alliance with Naples and Milan. Pope Sixtus I wanted to destroy the Medician supremacy at Forence and thus disturbed the balance of power in Italy. Hence Lorenzo, an advocate of peace, maintained the Medician supremacy and Italian balance of power by concluding a treaty with Ferdinand of Naples. An enlightened despot and able diplo-

Foreign policy—'Balance of Power' in Italy.

matist though Lorenzo was, he helped to degrade the political life of Italy by sweeping away all the popular forms of Florentine freedom. Though Florence became the foremost city in his age as the nursery of literature and arts, her commercial supremacy began to decline from his time. His son, Piero, became an open despot and departed from the traditional policy of maintaining the balance of power in Italy, by identifying his interests wholly with Naples and thereby alienating Milan at a time when there was every chance of an invasion of Italy either from France or from Spain.

Attempts of Savanarola to establish a republic failed.

In spite of the Medician despotism in Florence, the people longed for the republic and, taking up the opportunity of the invasion of Charles VIII (1495), rose against the tyrants and re-established a republic under the guidance of a pious monk and a great reformer **Savanarola.** But in 1498 Savanarola, at the intrigues of his enemies, was burnt at the stake and Medician supremacy was restored in 1512.

(e) *Venice*:

The constitution of Venice.

The most prominent of the Italian states in the fifteenth century was Venice, the 'Queen of the Adriatic'. Her government was a close and suspicious oligarchy. Power was confined to certain families whose names were inscribed in the 'Golden Book.' The executive council of ten members was all powerful. The Doge of Venice was the nominal president with powers extremely limited.

The power of Venice was due to her vast commerce and territorial possessions. Before the rise of the Turks, the Venetians had a monopoly of commerce in the Levant as well

Greatness of Venice begins to decline with the advent of the Turks.

as with India and the East through the ports of Egypt, Syria, and Greece. In 1453 Constantinople fell, and in 1461 the Turks conquered Morea and a greater part of Greece. Venice resisted the progress of the Turks, but meeting with many reverses in the war that followed, concluded the disgraceful *Treaty of Constantinople* (1479), by which she surrendered most of her territorial possessions and agreed to hold the rest as tributaries of the Sultan. To compensate for the loss, Venice now entered upon a policy of self-agrandisement in Italy, and being entangled in the meshes of Italian politics roused the jealousy of her neighbours. Moreover, the discovery of the cape-route to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498 drew off the oriental commerce to Spain and Portugal, dealing a death-blow to the Venetian commercial prosperity. Thus began the decline of Venice, but the republic continued its existence till Napoleon ended it in 1797.

Causes of the decline of Venice.

2. Germany:

German constitution and its character.

The numerous feudal 'estates' of the Empire had gained a constantly increasing independence of the central authority of the Emperor and were jealous of one another. Theoretically, the Holy Roman Emperor was the temporal head of Europe, but in reality he was a puppet in his own Empire. His office was elective, the privilege of election being vested in the seven electors—Archbishops of Mainz, Koln, and Trier, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburgh, and the King of Bohemia. On election he was called the King of the Romans, and after his coronation by the

Elective Character of the Imperial dignity.

Pope he was recognised as the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The Emperor was bound to consult the *Diet* or the German assembly comprising of three chambers: the Six Electors (Bohemia excepted) forming the first House, the ecclesiastics and the lesser princes the second, while the third being composed of the deputies of the Free Cities. The authority of the Emperor was very weak owing to, the practical independence of the subordinate princes or Electors who extorted concessions from him, more and more favourable to their independence, at the time of the elections, as well as for the selfish policy pursued by the third chamber which was looked down upon by the other two chambers: besides, a class of nobles, the *Ritters*, being excluded from the 'Diet' and having no interest in the general welfare of the Empire, organised a regular system of highway robbery and kept the country in a state of chronic anarchy. The Emperor had no definite source of income, nor any standing army.

Emperor bound to consult the Diet of three chambers.

Reasons for the want of political unity in Germany.

The Empire under Maximilian :

Frederic I, the first Hohenzollern Margrave of Brandenburgh, tried to maintain the unity of Germany by organising a standing army, a regular system of assembly, and a system of common taxation, but he failed. With the election of Albert of Austria as Emperor, the monarchy became hereditary in the House of Hapsburgs; but German disunion and discords led to the falling away of the outlying territories of the Empire in the reign of Frederic III. So the *Swabian League* was formed to promote general peace, specially to decide disputes by arbitration,

Early history of the Empire

Frederic III, 1457-93.

The Swabian League.

instead of by sword. The immediate object of the league, *viz.*, to check the violences of Albert Duke of Bavaria through a court of arbitration consisting of princes, knights, and citizens, was gained, and it also was able to destroy during its existence (1488-1533) one hundred and forty strongholds of the *Ritters* or the nobles who opposed Germanic unity.

Accession of Maxmilian, 1493-1519.

On the death of Frederic III in 1493, his son Maximilian, who had already secured the Austrian territories to his father and the succession in Hungary and Bohemia to the Hapsburgs, came to the throne. In 1502 Maximilian assumed the title of Emperor without going through the ceremony of coronation, thus setting an example of independence of Papal authority.

The constitutional reforms of Maximilian:

During his reign the last serious attempt was made to remodel the antiquated machinery of the imperial government. In order to raise funds to oppose the French in Italy he summoned the *Diet of Worms* (1495), taking advantage of which the German Estates demanded constitutional reforms. A perpetual public peace was proclaimed and the right of private wars to settle disputes was abolished, and a

(1) The Imperial chamber established.

Court of Appeal for this purpose, called the *Imperial Chamber*, was permanently set up, consisting of a President and sixteen Assessors, the President being nominated by the Emperor and the Assessors by the Diet.

(2) Imposition of the Common Penny.

By it the unity of the Empire was recognised. A general tax, the *Common Penny*, was imposed.

(3) Council of Regency set up.

Berthold, the leader of the constitutional party, further secured a council—the *Council of Regency*—consisting of the representatives of the Estates for the administration of political affairs. To enforce the execution of the laws, Germany was

divided into ten circles: Austria, Burgundy Upper Saxony and Brandenburgh, Lower Saxony, Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria. Westphalia, Upper Rhine, and Lower Rhine. (4) Division of Germany into ten circles.

His foreign policy was chiefly concerned with Italy and France. In Italy his aim was to make good the ancient imperial claims, but he miserably failed in almost all his campaigns there. He conducted the quarrel of Charles the Bold of Burgundy with Louis XI of France after Charles's death, because Charles's daughter, Mary, whom he married, was excluded from her father's possessions in France on the plea of the Salic law of succession. Though he could not secure all his father-in-law's dominions in France, he later on acquired Artois and Franché-Comté. He was also the lord of the Netherlands which was one of the possessions of Charles the Bold, his father-in-law, and not a French fief. Again, marrying his son Philip to Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, he prepared for his descendents the way to Spanish succession. *Thus by a number of matrimonial bargains he contributed much to the advance of the Hapsburgs.* Besides, he tried to unite all Europe against the Turks, though he could not unfortunately inspire enthusiasm among his own countrymen for a national war of defence.

Foreign policy of Maximilian:

(a) failure in Italy;

(b) partial success in France;

(c) the Netherlands and Spain secured by policy of marriages.

(d) move against the Turks.

Thus, while the reforms of Maximilian helped much to make a peaceful settlement of the internal discords in the Empire, they did not substantially strengthen the position of the central authority of the Emperor. Though his foreign policy led to the establishment of a strong monarchy, his political career was full of disappointments.

Estimate of his reign.

3. France:

The growth of the French monarchy under Charles VII and Louis XI.

While Italy and Germany, at the opening of the Modern Age, had fallen into confusion for want of national unity, France, Spain and England were being consolidated under the rule of the strong monarchs. The Hundred Years' War in France had strengthened the central authority of the king who was allowed to organise an army and to levy and collect a perpetual tax called the *Taille*. Vested thus with the two potent engines of despotism, namely the standing army and the power of the purse, Charles VII and his son Louis XI began to exercise absolute authority at home and followed a policy of aggrandisement abroad.

Struggle between Louis XI and Charles the Bold of Burgundy.

The nobles organised the *League of Public Weal* to curb the growing power of Louis and joined with Charles the Bold, the duke of Burgundy, against him. At first Louis XI had to yield disgracefully, but later on with the help of the Swiss, the first military power of the time, Charles was defeated and killed and the league put down. Burgundy and Provence were annexed for want of male heirs; and Rousillon was conquered from the king of Aragon which gave Louis a strong frontier on the side of the Pyreneese.

Estimate of the reign of Louis XI: 1461-83.

The reign of Louis XI thus marks an epoch in the history of the French monarchy. He suppressed the power of the nobles, elevated the lower classes and greatly developed the industrial and commercial forces of the country, which contributed much to the *centralisation* of the government as well as the *consolidation* of the kingdom. He was a patron of letters and science, and the healing art made a rapid progress under him. The development of the art of printing and the institution of regular posts

greatly helped to modernise France. He died in 1483, and was succeeded by his son Charles VIII.

Though Charles VIII did not possess the genius of his father, he inherited a monarchy more powerful than any other in Europe with its vast resources. He acquired Brittany and thus almost completed the unification of France. Being ambitious to signalise himself by some great deed, he now thought of foreign conquests and appeared in Italy with the object of conquering Naples on the strength of certain testamentary claims, though of little validity. This roused the jealousy of Ferdinand of Aragon (Spain) who had a rightful claim to the throne of Naples, and both the Kings of France and Spain henceforth became rivals for the possession of Italy, where was continued for more than sixty years with brief intervals of peace.

Ambitious Policy of Charles VIII 1483-98.

4. Spain :

Foundation of the Spanish Monarchy :

The important provinces of Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal had no unity amongst them, in spite of their long wars with their common foe, the Moors. The destructive quarrels between the nobles and the citizens were fatal to the unity of Spain. But in 1469 Crown Prince Ferdinand the Catholic of Aragon, was married to Princess Isabella of Castile, and with their accession to the respective thrones of Aragon and Castile, both the provinces became united. The conquest of Granada, the last stronghold of the Moors in the peninsula, by the new monarchs (1492) consolidated the monarchy and gave the Spaniards that martial character which made Spain the foremost European power in

Reasons for the absence of unity of Spain.

Steps in the unification of Spain :

(a) Marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella.

(b) Capture of Granada.

(c) Conquest of Navarre.

the next century. In 1512, Ferdinand also conquered Navarre, and the unity of Spain was accomplished.

Expansion of the Spanish dominion.

The unification of Spain ushered in a period of territorial expansion, and the very year the Moorish strongholds in Spain fell (1492), Columbus discovered and won for Spain the magnificent dominion of the New World through the patronage of Queen Isabella. Ferdinand's general, Gonsalvo de Cordova conquerred Naples in 1504, and his minister, Cardinal Ximenes, also made an extensive conquest on the Barbaric coasts of Africa.

Character and Policy of Ferdinand:

Estimate of character.

Ferdinand the Catholic was full of avarice and hypocrisy which led to the destruction of the spirit of enterprise amongst his people; but his ability, courteous and energetic nature coupled with Isabella's dignified tastes, her sweetness and moderation of character, contributed much to the union of Castile and Aragon and the foundation of a strong united monarchy.

Foreign policy of increasing Spanish influence by marriage-alliances.

His foreign policy was to extend the Spanish influence in other European courts so as to counteract the rising power of France, and for this purpose he used matrimony as his instrument. He thus married his first daughter to King Emanuel of Portugal and after her death, to keep up the connection, again married his fourth daughter to him. His second daughter, Joanna, was married to Philip, the only son of Emperor Maximilian, which brought the Spanish crown to the Hapsburgs of Austria. Catharine, his third daughter, was married to the English Prince Arthur, and after his death to his brother Henry VIII of England; while

his only son, John, was married to Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, who had been betrothed formerly to Charles VIII of France, but he died soon after.

In his domestic policy, Ferdinand ably centralised his government by reducing the importance of the feudal parliaments of Castile and Aragon and by establishing the infamous *Inquisition* (1482), a royal court armed with spiritual weapons, to suppress heresy in Spain, under the authority of a bull of Pope Sixtus IV. The Jews and the Moors, the two most progressive and industrial elements of the population of Spain, were systematically persecuted, expelled, or crushed. He also checked the robber-knights by organising a formidable body of police and secured the peace of the land. He died in 1516.

Domestic policy of centralisation :

The *Inquisition* as an engine of royal oppression.

Early Career of Charles I (of Spain) or Emperor Charles V (of Germany) :

Ferdinand was succeeded by Charles, the son of his daughter Joanna.* He was born at Ghent in the Netherlands and ascended the Spanish throne in 1516. Though his education was defective, he had to play an important part in the history of Europe in the first half of the sixteenth century. After his accession, he unwisely dismissed his father's minister, Cardinal Ximenes, who did much for the Spanish

His birth and parentage.

His early administrative measures in Spain.

Ferdinand of Aragon = Isabella of Castile

Maximilian, Emperor of Austria and Germany. = Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold of the Netherlands.

Catharine = Henry VIII of England.

Joanna = Archduke Phillip

Charles I of Spain, (later Emperor Charles V)

monarchy by keeping the Spanish nobles in check when they revolted during the minority of the king, as well as by an able management of the wars in Navarre and Africa. The *Junta*, the formidable league of the Spanish communes, tried to overthrow the monarchy, and Charles suppressed it. On the death of Emperor Maximilian, Charles was also elected Emperor of Germany (1519).

His election as Emperor of Germany, 1519.

His extensive dominions.

Thus the dominions of Charles were more extensive "than any European monarch since Charlemagne had possessed". It comprised the duchy of the Netherlands, the kingdom of Spain, and the Spanish possessions in Italy and Sicily together with the Spanish colonies in the New World, as well as the kingdoms of Austria, Germany, and their dependencies. His reign is important for his long war with his rival Francis I of France, and his great struggle with the Reform movement in Germany.

Importance of his reign.

5. England:

Close of the Wars of the Roses, and the beginning of the Tudor despotism.

In 1453, the Hundred Year's War with France ended in the defeat of the English under Talbot at *Castillon*, the English only holding Calais and the Channel islands. England next entered into the civil strife, the Wars of the Roses, (1455-85), in which Richard III, the last king of the House of York, was defeated and killed at the battle of *Bosworth*. Henry VII of the Tudor line, a descendant of the Lancastrians, succeeded and married Elizabeth, a daughter of the House of York, thus uniting the two rival houses of York and Lancaster and bringing the domestic strife to an end. He established a strong and almost absolute monarchy in England by curbing the authority of the turbu-

Character of the reign of Henry VII, 1485-1509.

lent nobles, by enforcing the *Statute of Livery and Maintenances,* by establishing the court of *Star Chamber,* and by raising money independently of the Parliament through fines and Benevolences. The French designs upon Italy led the Spanish king, Ferdinand the Catholic, to enter into alliance with England, and Catharine, the daughter of the Spanish king, was married to Prince Arthur (the eldest son of Henry VII) and after his death to his brother, Henry VIII, with the sanction of Pope Julius II. Henry VII's daughter, Margaret, was also married to king James IV of Scotland, which paved the way for the future union of the crowns of England and Scotland.

Alliance between England and Spain.

During the reign of Henry VIII, England entered definitely into European politics, and after an invasion of France a peace was concluded with her new king, Francis I, by Chancellor **Wolsey.** After-Ferdinand's death his grandson Charles, the son of Joanna and Philip, became king of Spain and stood as the rival of Francis I of France for supremacy on the continent. Through the ability of Wolsey, England was able to maintain a balance between the two, though she herself gained nothing out of the struggle. The foreign policy of England throughout the reign of Henry VIII was an unprofitable one, though there was a distinct advance in England's position. The wave of the great religious movement, the *Reformation,* reached England during his reign, and Henry played a prominent part in it.

Henry VIII, and his minister Cardinal Wolsey.

His foreign policy.

6. The Ottoman Empire:

The history of Modern Europe begins under the pressure of the Ottoman Turks. Taking

Capture of Constantinople, and consolidation of the Empire by Sultan Mahomed II.

advantage of the internal disputes among the Greeks, the Turks first settled in Europe in the middle of the fourteenth century. Sultan Mahomed II conquered Constantinople in 1453, which came to be the capital of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. He allowed the Greeks to reside in his dominions. He was also able to conquer Morea and the Greek empire of Trebizond which included Servia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Herzgovina, Montenegro and Bosnia. Then all the Venetian possessions in Greece were gradually brought under his sway, though the Venetian commerce was secured by the *Treaty of Constantinople* (1479). The Sultan had trained an immense number of slaves for his civil and military administration: besides the captives in war, a regular tax of children was imposed on the conquered people and they were rigidly trained to be well-disciplined soldiers and administrators. These soldiers formed the famous corps of the *Janissaries*—long the backbone of the Turkish army and the terror of Europe. With their help, Mahomed led an Italian expedition and captured Otranto which however was lost just after his death in 1481.

His civil and military administration:

The Janissaries.

Successors of Mahomed II.

Mahomed's successor, Bajazet II, was averse to war and became unpopular with the *Janissaries* who helped his son Selim I—the idol of the army—to depose Bajazet. Selim extended the empire by the conquests of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt. The annexation of Egypt gave the Sultan the *Caliphate* or the spiritual and temporal headship of Islam, and absolute control of the Levant which dealt a death-blow to the Venetian commercial supremacy in the

Western Mediterranan. Selim was succeeded by Solyman the Magnificent (1520)

CHAPTER II.

Ambitions of France and Spain in Italy.

French Invasion of Naples :

Possible claimants to the throne of Naples.

The tyranny of Ferdinand I of Naples and his son provoked a rebellion among the Neopolitan nobles who intrigued to offer the crown either to Charles VIII of France who had a testamentary claim to the throne of Naples, or to Ferdinand the Catholic, the lawful son of John II, who might rightfully claim the throne against his bastard cousin Ferdinand. Venice, however, fearing any increase of the maritime power of Spain induced the Neopolitans to apply to Charles VIII of France (1492). Again Lodovico Sforza, who wanted to supplant his nephew, Gian Galeazzo in the duchy of Milan sought for French assistance (1493). Charles VIII thus got a golden opportunity of claiming and conquering Naples, when Milan, Venice, and Naples were his allies.

Intervention of France solicited.

Rapid success of Charles VIII in Italy.

In 1494 Charles VIII appeared in Milan and made Lodovico its Duke. Then he entered Florence as conqueror, unopposed by the Florentines who were passsing through internal troubles. Next, he frightened the Pope into submission and compelled him to cede some towns. In Naples, King Alfonso II, the successor of Ferdinand, being nervous at the near approach of the French fled cowardly, and the Neopolitan nobles hailed the French with joy. Charles

always fortunate in Italy, thus seized the throne of Naples unopposed.

League against French Ambitions :

The rapid success and the establishment of the French in Italy alarmed the Italians as well as the foreign states Milan was claimed by Charles VIII's cousin, Louis of Orleans, as a representative of the old Visconti family Venice feared the establishment of a powerful state as her neighbour Emperor Maximilian feared the designs of Charles on his empire. The Pope lamented the cession of his towns to Charles Ferdinand the Catholic (of Spain) burned with anger at the frustration of his claim to Naples and, as king of Sicily, was opposed to the French occupation of Naples. So Milan, Venice, the Pope, Ferdinand of Spain, and Emperor Maximilian formed a league to drive out the French from Italy and maintain the 'balance of power' in Europe The news of the conclusion of the league at once induced volatile Charles to abandon his conquests and to return to France. On his way he was opposed by an army of the allies, and an indecisive battle was fought at *Fornovo* (1495) Charles reached France unmolested, but there was nothing left to the French crown of what he had won in Italy He died three years later and was succeeded by his cousin Louis of Orleans as Louis XII

Formation of a formidable league against the French led Charles to lose Naples

Louis XII's Invasion of Italy and Spanish Conquest of Naples :

On succeeding to the French throne, Louis had two aims in view—to conquer Milan as a descendant of the Visconti family who had ruled there before the Sforzas, and to conquer

French conquest of Milan.

Naples as successor of Charles VIII. He easily won over Venice, Florence and Pope Alexander VI, and appeared in Milan. Lodovico fled and Milan was easily conquered. Shortly after Lodovico was captured, and he died after ten years of imprisonment, paying the penalty for his short-sighted policy in inviting the French into Italy. Having accomplished his first object, Louis now turned to Naples. Ferdinand of Spain, who also had a claim to Naples, in order to avoid war with France, concluded the *Treaty of Granada* for such partition of Naples as would be beneficial to both (1500). Thus French and Spanish troops conquered Naples from Ferdinand II who had to die in captivity in France. Now a quarrel, and then a war, took place between France and Spain regarding the partition. Spain however attained success through the military skill of her commander Gonsalvo de Cordova, and annexed Naples (1503). Next year, another French attempt to recover Naples was also baffled by Gonsalvo.

Arrangement for Partition of Naples, 1500.

Expulsion of Louis XII from Naples and the Spanish conquest.

League of Cambray and French Conquest of Milan :

Pope Julius II, who aspired to play a great and decisive part in Italian politics, wished to recover all the old papal territories of which the largest portion was in the hands of Venice. The European princes also, for various reasons, looked with jealousy upon Venice. In 1508, Pope Julius organised the *League of Cambray* with powerful rulers like Louis XII, Ferdinand of Spain, Emperor Maximilian, to despoil the republic of Venice. The French defeated the Venetians in 1509 and Julius recovered the Papal territories from Venice ; but Venice was

Pope Julius II organised the League of Cambray —a 'great political crime.'

saved from ruin owing to a subsequent quarrel among the allies. This league has been said to be a 'great political crime'.

Gaining his object, Pope Julius suddenly turned round to free Italy from the forigners. At it, Louis XII now summoned a general *Council at Pisa* to depose the Pope. The European princes became dissatisfied at this interference of Louis with ecclesiastical affairs, and the Pope was able to conclude a *Holy League* with Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Spain, Henry VIII of England, and the Swiss (1511). At first France faught successfully, but by 1513 she lost all that she had won in Italy; the Sforzas were restored by the Swiss to Milan, and the Medicis were re-established in Florence by Spain. Meanwhile in France itself, Ferdinand of Spain had conquered Navarre on the borders of the Pyrenees and Henry VIII of England won the *Battle of the Spurs*. Pope Julius died in 1513, and French diplomacy succeeded in breaking up the League before the death of Louis in 1515.

Council of Pisa and the Holy League.

The French lost Milan.

Francis I, the successor of Louis, young and ambitious as he was, determined to reconquer Milan. With the help of the Venetians, he suddenly attacked the country and defeating the Swiss at the *battle of Marignano* reconquered it. The Sforzas retired with a pension to France, and for sometime the Italian wars, which had begun in 1494, were closed. Francis entered into a "*Concordat*" or treaty with Pope Leo X, which restored Parma and Piacenza to Milan and the Pope was to get certain payments from France which had been stopped for about a century.

Francis I reconquered Milan.

Treaty between Francis and Leo X.

Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain became

Treaty between France and Spain.

afraid of the re-establishment of the French in Italy and thought of forming a new league against France, but he died shortly after (1516) Charles, the grandson of Ferdinand, who succeeded to the Spanish throne, concluded with Francis the *Treaty of Noyen* which gave Italy a brief interval of peace.

Struggle between Francis I and Charles V:

Causes of the Quarrel:

Rivalry for the Imperial throne leading to the struggle between France and the Hapsburgs.

On the death of Emperor Maximilian in 1519, both Francis I of France and Charles V of Spain became rivals for the Imperial dignity of Germany. Charles, however, managed to get himself elected as Emperor (Charles V) of Germany without any difficulty and this made Francis his deadly enemy. As the territories of these two rival princes touched each other at several points, petty local quarrels began to take place often. Added to this, both the sovereigns had conflicting claims in Italy.

Renewal of the war in Italy.

Charles becoming Emperor claimed Milan, now held by Francis, as part of his imperial possessions, while Francis as the descendant of Charles VIII of France laid his counter-claim upon Naples which was in possession of Charles as the successor of Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain. War was thus renewed in Italy between these two rival monarchs.

Allies in the War:

Charles entered into alliance with England and the Papacy.

Both Francis and Charles now eagerly sought for alliances with Henry VIII of England and Pope Leo X. Francis met Henry for the purpose on the *'Field of the Cloth of Gold'* near Calais (1520), but nothing came of the interview. Charles, however, finally succeeded in winning Henry over to his side by the *Treaty of Gravelines*. Pope Leo, though first sided

with Francis, was also similarly won over by **Charles.**

First Period of the War :

Hostilities commenced in 1520, when the French overran Spanish Navarre, taking *Pampeluna* where the Spanish Knight ***Ignatius*** **Loyola** was wounded to be the founder later on of the famous Order of the Jesuits. Before the end of the year however the French were driven out of the country. In Italy also the French were opposed by the Imperial army and driven out of Milan which was restored to the Sforzas Francis, again, led a large army into Italy to recover Milan, but sustained a crushing defeat in the *battle of Pavia* and was taken prisoner (1525). "Nothing is left me", he wrote to his mother, "save honor and life". He was not released till he signed the *Treaty of Madrid* (1526) whereby he ceded to Charles the countries of Flanders and Artois and the duchy of Burgundy as well as gave up his claims to Milan : both the kings also arranged to unite in suppressing heresy.

Unsuccessful French campaign in Navarre.

Success of Charles in Italy, and the treaty of Madrid.

Returning to France, however, Francis repudiated the treaty and joined with Venice, Milan, and Pope Clement VII in a new *Holy League at Cognac* against Charles. Acting on his system of Balance of Power, **Cardinal Wolsey,** the minister of Henry VIII of England, also allied that country with France. The allies however could effect very little against Charles. Rome was taken and sacked by the Imperial troops and the army of the league was routed (1527). Francis made two more attempts to retrieve his cause in Italy, both of which ended in failure. Hostilities were at last brought to a close by the *Peace of Cambray* (1529) : Francis

Holy League of Cognac against Charles.

Sack of Rome.

Defeat of Francis.

was to renounce all his claims on Milan, Naples, Genoa, Flanders, and Artois, though he was allowed to retain Burgundy. The French were thus altogether driven out of Italy, and all the Italian states, except Venice, passed under Charles. Charles was now formally crowned king of Italy and Emperor by the Pope (1530), and the House of Hapsburg obtained a supremacy for three centuries to come.

Charles formally crowned as Emperor, 1530.

Second Period of the War:

Charles's wars with the Turks and the Algierian pirates leading Francis to intrigue against him.

The Turkish Sultan Solyman besieged Vienna, the capital of Austria, in 1530, but being repelled he began to threaten Germany with an invasion. At the same time the Corsairs of Tunis under Barbarossa as well as the Algerian pirates began to infest the northern shores of the Mediterranean. Emperor Charles, with a large army and fleet, landed on the African shores, defeated Barbarossa and captured Tunis. Taking advantage of this preoccupation of the Emepror, Francis began to intrigue against him, entered into close relations with England and Scotland, and even went so far as to form an alliance with the Sultan. Charles attacked the French territory of Provence (1536), but failed to take it. Through the mediation of Pope Paul III, hostilities were however suspended by the *Truce of Nice* (1538), which was to last for ten years. Before four years did elapse, however, a dispute arose as to the duchy of Milan which Charles had conferred upon his son Philip, and encouraged by the failure of an expedition of Charles against the pirates of Algiers, Francis formed a fresh alliance with the Sultan to try the fortunes of his war with the Emperor. Charles declaimed against this alliance and in-

Truce of Nice, 1538.

Renewal of hostilities.

vaded Champagne with a powerful German army (1542). He also induced Henry VIII of England to attack Boulogne. Peace was however concluded by the *Treaty of Crespy* (1544): Francis renounced all his claims to Naples, Flanders and Artois, while Charles gave up his claim on Burgundy. Francis died three years later.

Peace of Crespy 1544.

General Results of the Struggle:

The protracted struggle between Francis and Charles had its important and far-reaching consequences. It saved France from being reduced to a dependency of Spain and thereby destroying the political equilibrium of the European states. For the first time a sort of consciousness was roused in the minds of the European people that though belonging to different states, their fortunes were bound together as members of the great European commonwealth of nations, and out of it practically originated the political doctrine of the 'Balance of Power' among the European states which however did not fully develop into a system until 1668 in the Age of Louis XIV of France and which even now lies at the bottom of the European diplomacy. Protestantism got time to obtain such a firm footing in Germany and in other countries that all subsequent efforts to crush it became ineffectual. Christendom sustained severe losses in the hands of the Ottoman Turks by preventing united action on the part of the Christian princes of Europe. Italy being the chief theatre of the struggle, the cause of the *Renaissance* received a rude shock in that country, while France took up the movement in right earnest and was benefitted out of it.

Humiliation of France avoided and European Balance of Power maintained.

Cause of Protestantism saved.

Spread of the Renaissance in France.

Close of the Italian Wars :

Renewed struggle between France and the Hapsburgs.

Francis I of France died in 1547 leaving his son Henry II to succeed him, and the struggle between France and the Austro-Spanish House of the Hapsburgs became henceforth complicated with the Protestant movement in Germany. In 1552 Henry II joined his hands with the Protestant leaders against Charles V in his war with the League of Schmalkalden (*Vide Bk. I. Ch. III*). Charles however abdicated in 1556, leaving his Italian possessions to his son, Philip II, king of Spain and the Netherlands: Pope Paul IV (Caraffa) now entered into an alliance with Henry II to drive out the Spaniards from Italy. Philip was assisted by the English under the influence of their queen, Mary Tudor, now the wife of Philip. The Pope was soon reduced by the Duke of Alva, Philip's governor of Naples, but the war between France and Spain lingered on a little. At last the French were badly beaten by the Spanish troops at *St. Quentin* (1557) in the north of France and then again at *Gravelines* (1558), though they succeeded in conquering Calais, the last English possession on the French soil. The French king was forced to submit to the *Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis* (1559) which closed the long struggle between France and Spain for the possession of Italy. By it Milan and Naples remained in the possession of Spain, and all Italy was now practically in Spanish power ; Calais was retained by France and the three great bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun were ceded to her. Finally it was arranged that Philip should Marry Elizabeth, daughter of the French King, his wife Mary Tudor of England having already died.

Wars between Henry II and Philip II in Italy.

Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, 1559 ;

Its Terms :

Though the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis did not bring about a permanent alliance between France and Spain that was hoped for, it must be noticed that France was successful in resisting the formation of a great Hapsburg monarchy which would threaten the independence of the lesser states of Europe: the Empire and Spain became henceforth separated. Religious, rather than political, differences were to divide Europe for sometime to come, and when the struggle recommenced it took the form of a national duel between France and Spain.

Importance of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis.

CHAPTER III.

The Reformation Movement in Europe.

Meaning of the Reformation :

The Reformation—a balance of religious and political forces.

The 'Reformation' is the name ordinarily given to the great *religio-political* movement which swept over Europe in the sixteenth century, involving the emancipation of the Church and State in many countries from the domination of the Papacy and the establishment of various national and territorial churches. It became a *dual movement*, being, on the one hand, an insurrection against the universal ecclesiastical supremacy claimed by the Roman pontiffs, and, on the other, a "renovation of the religious and moral life of Western Christendom."

Causes of the Reformation :

(a) The Renaissance developing the spirit of criticism and enquiry which was applied to religion.

The *Renaissance*, that great intellectual awakening in Italy at the close of the mediæval age, had led to the development of liberal and intelligent views of life among the educated classes who began to criticise independently the whole mediæval system of ideas, beliefs, and practices. But while Italy, instead of demanding reform of religion, indulged in unparalleled artistic activity, the Northern countries, above all, felt a need for moral reform ; and it was in Germany that the new spirit of the *Renaissance* was first applied to the service of religion.

The real reason, however, for the beginning of the *Reformation* was the existence in the Church of most serious scandals and abuses. In

the latter half of the fifteenth century, the spiritual life of the Church had sunk to a lower ebb, and the personal wickedness of the Popes had risen to their height. The spiritual heads of the Church of Rome became no better than the temporal princes, and being much mixed up in the Italian wars called on men to support their political schemes under pretence of helping the cause of the Church. Religion, instead of being a thing of the heart, fast degenerated into an ignoble superstition by the worship of relics and images, pompous ceremonies, *etc.*, and by a system of persecution which stifled all freedom of thought and established a dreadful spiritual despotism. Besides, the Popes indulged in all sorts of sensual delights: Pope Alexander VI led a most vicious life; his successor Julius II was anxious for the extension of his territories; Leo X was a refined sensualist. Spiritual guidance could therefore be no longer expected from the Popes.

(b) The growing vices of the Popes and extension of their temporal dominions leading to loss of faith on them as spiritual guides.

Moreover, with the growing sentiment of national patriotism, the temporal princes also grew jealous of the claims of the Papacy. In the middle ages, the states of Western Europe were regarded as a sort of Christian commonwealth with the Pope as its spiritual head who claimed the right to appoint or nominate to church offices, to tax the clergy and the church properties, and drew an immense revenue from every state in the shape of *Annates* or through the system of *Indulgences*. With the awakening sense of nationality, the secular governments began to assume new functions and fresh responsibilities on behalf of the people which re-

(c) The financial demands of the Popes from every state rousing the jealousy of their governments.

quired larger revenues. Thus the financial demands of the Roman See became galling and intolerable to the lay governments of the different states at a time when there arose a loud protest against the moral life of the Church.

All these circumstances combined together to bring about that division of the Christian church which is known as the *Reformation*.

Precursors of the Reformation :

Earlier attempts at reform failed.

Earnest men indignant at the wrongs done to humanity by the Papal despotism rose in Europe from time to time, but they were uniformly unsuccessful and generally perished as martyrs. **John Wycliffe,** first raised his voice against the Papal authority in England in the fourteenth century (hence called, the 'Morning-star of the Reformation'), but his followers, the *Lollards*, were persecuted and Lollardism was put down by the Lancastrian rulers. **John Huss** and **Jeroma,** the Austrian Reformers as well as **Savanarola,** the Florentine Reformer, alike fell victims to spiritual tyranny. At the close of the fifteenth and early in the sixteenth centuries, however, the celebrated *Humanists* in Germany (*e.g.*, John Reuchlin, Ulrich von Hutten) and in England (*e.g. 'The Oxford Reformers'*) prepared the minds for the reform of the Church, though *from within* by the spread of education conducive to true piety and *without breaking the mediæval unity of* Christendom. Thus these Humanists were Reformers, though they differed radically from the revolutionary ideas of Martin Luther, the author and the 'Master-spirit of the Reformation'.

The later Humanistic movement developed into the Protestant Reformation.

I. The Reformation in Germany:

Martin Luther and the Beginning of the Movement:

His Early Career:

Born in a peasant family in Thuringia in 1483, he was sent to the University of Erfurt, a seat of liberal education in Germany, where he carefully learnt the scholastic philosophy. His thirst for divine knowledge led him, in spite of the wishes of his father, to join the Augustine Order of Friars in 1505. He then diligently studied the Bible and the works of Augustine, from which he realised the difference between true Christianity and the religion taught and practised by the Roman Church. In 1510 he made a pilgrimage to Rome where the corruption and immorality of the Pope and the Church convinced him of the need of a thorough reform in the existing system of religion. Meanwhile, he had accepted a professorship in the University of Wittenburg, the capital of Saxony, where his teachings, after his return from Rome, gave a new turn to the studies and opinions of the professors and students from the old scholasticism.

Luther and his early religious experience.

His pilgrimage to Rome.

Luther as University Professor.

His Attack on the Indulgences:

In 1517, Tetzel, a Dominician monk, came to hawk through Germany *Letters of Indulgences*. The Indulgences originated from the decisions of the Popes, that an act of sin could be pardoned in return for a gift of money to the church for some holy purpose and the certificates of remission of sins were called 'Letters of Indulgences'. The avaricious and corrupt Popes of the *Renaissance* employed them as a source

The doctrine of *Indulgences*:

of income, and Tetzel had been sent out to raise money for Pope Leo X.

Sale of Indulgences and Luther's attack in his *Ninety-five Theses.*

Luther attacked the doctrine of Indulgences and explained its pagan origin, saying that sin could not be got rid of by money but by confession, repentance, and penance. In October 1517, he affixed to the door of the castle-church at Wittenburg his famous *Ninety-five Theses* denouncing the scholastic absurdities, papal pretensions and extortions. Men's minds were at once opened to the scriptural truth of 'Justification by Faith'. Henceforth, he obtained the powerful support of the German princes who were indignant at the transit of their subjects' money to Rome, and Frederick the Elector of Saxony became his patron and friend. Scholars like Melancthon and Urich von Hutten also became his firm supporters. In 1520, the Pope issued a Bull of excommunication against him which was openly burnt by Luther in the market square along with the volumes of the Canon Law. This gave rise to a hot controversy with the friends of rigid Romanism, and out of the contention was born the Protestant church.

Supporters of Luther, and his open challenge against the Papacy.

The Diet of Worms and Luther :

Emperor Charles declaring Luther a heretic.

Emperor Charles V anxious to secure the alliance of Pope Leo X in his war against Francis I in Italy, summoned Luther at the *Diet of Worms* (1521) and asked him to recant his new opinions considered heretical in the eyes of the church. On his refusal, Charles V, issued the *Edict of Worms* declaring Luther a heretic and outlaw. Anxious for his safety, his patron, the Elector of Saxony, took possession of his person and kept him concealed in the Wartburg castle where he translated the Bible into simple German. The number of his

Friendly imprisonment of Luther.

sympathisers now swelled in Germany as they thought Luther surely fell a martyr to his cause.

The Radical Upheavals and Luther :

It is not unnatural that during the concealment of Luther, Protestant fanatics began to preach acts of violence against the Roman church. A zealous and extremist reformer, Carlstadt, created a ferment in Germany in his attempt to introduce hasty and revolutionary changes in the church-government. Hearing of this, Luther suddenly appeared at Wittenburg, denounced the actions of Carlstadt, and rallied round him a large number of followers on his own moderate platform (1522).

Luther's return to Wittenburg and his denunciation of Carlstadt.

Next year, the Knights or the lesser German nobility of the Rhine country rose in revolt to secure political rights for themselves and to curtail the increasing power of the German princes. They were however defeated by the greater German princes and lost their political importance.

The Knights' War, 1523.

This outbreak was followed by a rising of the peasants, specially in the west and south-west of Germany, under the influence of the Anabaptist preachers, in order to ameliorate their hard lot of being treated as mere chattels of their whimsical masters. They commenced a general insurrection in Swabia and committed excesses : but the united army of the princes soon scattered their disorderly bands with a slaughter of many thousands (1524).

The Peasants' Revolt, 1524.

Luther denounced these risings as he never preached resistance to authority. But the attempts of the peasants to mingle religion with politics strengthened the conservative spirit of some of the German princes, and now Germany

Luther's attitude.

Effect of the risings on German situation.

became divided into two hostile camps. A new party of South German princes *e.g.*, of Bavaria, Austria, etc., agreed at the instance of the Pope in the *Convention of Ratisbon* to oppose the Lutherans.

The Diet of Speier and Progress of the Reformation :

Charles V quarreled with the Pope which saved the Reformation.

Though Charles V had arranged with Francis I, by the treaty of Madrid to unite in suppressing heresy, he could not appear in Germany to stifle the Reform movement as the French king had joined in a new League with Venice, Milan and the Papacy (*Vide Bk. I. Ch. II*). The Edict of Worms became a dead letter, and at the *Diet of Speier* which was called in 1526 it was declared that each state might conduct itself in regard to the religious question 'as it thought it could answer to God and his Imperial Majesty'.

Marriage of Luther and the rapid progress of Luther's doctrines.

Luther now quarrelled finally with Rome by marrying a nun Catharine Boria. Separate churches were built in the reformed states based on the new doctrines; monasteries were suppressed; Luther's Bible and hymns were everywhere used. The Elector of Saxony, many imperial cities like Augsburg, Ulm, etc., Brandenburg, Brunswick adopted Lutheranism; while many other princes like the Duke of Saxony, the Duke of Bavaria, etc., as well as the Emperor himself wished to repress Reform.

The Protest at the Diet of Speir, 1529.

In 1529, the Emperor's war with Francis and the Pope being closed by the Peace of Cambray, the *second Diet of Speier* was summoned where it was declared that the Edict of Worms was still binding and ecclesiastical changes should not be permitted. John of Saxony, George of

Brandenburg and others with fourteen Free Cities issued a signed *protest* which gave the reformers (the followers of Luther) the name of the *Protestants*. Thus Luther's work being done, his patron-princes took up the cause of the Reformed faith. *The first stage of the Reformation was now over.*

Origin of the name *Protestant*.

The Confession of Augsburg and the League of Schmalkalden :

Charles returned to Germany in 1530 to enforce obedience to the edict passed at Speier, but his remonstrance with the protesting princes failed. Another diet was held at Augsburg in which the Protestants presented their formula of belief ably drawn up by Melancthon, known as the *Confession of Augsburg*. It came to form the basis of the Lutheran Church. Charles in reply, condemned it and issued an edict forbidding the Protestant doctrines to be taught.

The *Protestants* and their creed—Confession of Augsburg, 1530.

The result was that the Protestant princes united themselves in the *League of Schmalkalden* (1531) for mutual defence, thinking that the edict of Augsburg would be enforced on them by arms. Elector John of Saxony, (son of Frederick of Saxony, the patron of Luther) and Philip of Hesse became the leaders of the league. *Thus the Confession of Augusburg and the League of Schmalkalden gave Protestantism a definite form and guaranteed it against any attack.*

League of Schmalkalden for the defence of Protestant interests, 1531.

This schism in the church however threatened Germany with a civil war. But hostilities were postponed, as Charles desired to unite the German princes against the Turks who had besieged Vienna under Sultan Solyman. Hence by the *Treaty of Nuremburg* (1532) Charles agreed that no one was to be molested on ac-

Turkish advance leading to religious peace in Germany 1532.

count of religious opinions until a general council had met, and he was rewarded by the hearty assistance of the Protestants in his campaign against the Turks.

Diversion of Charles from the Reformation :

Its Causes :

1. The Ottoman invasion.

Sultan Solyman who had besieged Vienna, the Austrian capital, failing in his attempt began to threaten the south-east of Germany ; but, owing to the union of the German princes against him by the treaty of Nuremburg, he became unwilling to meet them and drew back within his frontier. Hardly were these enemies repelled, Charles had to turn his attention to the Corsairs of Tunis and the Algeirian pirates, who were destroying the commerce of the Mediterranean and plundering the coasts of Italy and Spain. Charles landed in Africa, defeated the Corsair prince Barbarossa, and liberated thousands of Christian slaves ; but his expedition against the Algeirian pirates in 1541 was unsuccessful. Meanwhile, Francis I of France had entered into a treaty with the Turks and renewed his war with Charles which ended in the *Treaty of Crespy* in 1544 (*Vide Bk. I. Ch. II.*). For these reasons Charles could not give his undivided attention to the Reform movement in Germany between 1530 to 1544.

2. War with the Corsairs and the Algeirian pirates.

3. War with Francis I of France

Death of Luther, and his Character :

Luther, the greatest of the Reformers of his age, died, 1546.

The later life of Luther was perplexed. His country was being involved in civil wars, and his party, though influential, was mingling up religion with politics which he never anticipated. Worn out with cares, labours, and vexations, Luther died in 1546. An intrepid champion of the Faith, he was certainly pre-eminent among

the Reformers of the age. Though irritable and dogmatic, his greatness lay in his devotion to duty, his terrible earnestness and his indomitable will.

Charles and the Schmalkaldic War :

Its Causes :

During the time Charles was occupied with his war against the Turks, the Mahomedan pirates of North Africa, and with France, Lutheranism spread in Wurtemberg, Baden, Anhalt, Augsburg and most of the towns of northern and central Germany. In Munster, the Anabaptists under John of Leyden began to preach extreme doctrines, *e.g.*, community of wealth and of women, but their leaders were executed. Saxony and Brandenburg also accepted Lutheranism. Even the old Catholic Archbishop of Cologne wanted to go over to the side of the Reformers. Charles therefore made his last attempt to arrive at a definite settlement of the religious disputes and induced Pope Paul III to summon a General Council of the Church at Trent (1545) ; but the Protestants refused to acknowledge it. Hence Charles resolved to put down the Protestant League of Schmalkalden and crush the Reformation.

Rapid progress of Lutheranism in Germany.

Final attempt of Charles to effect a settlement ending in failure.

First Period of the War :

In the year of Luther's death (1546), Charles openly declared war against the League. Meanwhile, by a policy of masterly hypocrisy, he had won over to his side Duke **Maurice of Saxony**, an avowed Protestant who had subordinated religion to politics for his personal advancement and was jealous of his cousin the Elector of Saxony, by pretending that his objects were merely political. The League thus lost the sup-

The Protestant Duke, Maurice of Saxony won over by Charles.

Battle of Muhlberg and victory of Charles, 1547.

port of a powerful prince, and with the help of Maurice, Charles now won a victory at *Muhlberg* (1547); the Elector of Saxony was captured and his territory was given to Maurice. Philip of Hesse, the other leader of the League, was also imprisoned. Charles became now the arbiter of Germany, and it seemed for the moment as though all Europe was at the Emperor's feet.

Second Period of the War :

Charles's attempt to enforce religious uniformity by the *Interim*.

Charles now resolved to enforce religious uniformity in the Empire, but, owing to the quarrel with the Pope at the church-council now held at Bologna, he resolved to settle German religious affairs himself. In 1548, at the *Diet of Augsburg*, Charles formulated a temporary religious creed, called the *Interim*, of which the doctrines were mainly Catholic, only two Protesant tenets being adopted *viz.*, communion in both kinds, and marriage of the clergy The *Interim* however dissatisfied the Catholics and the Protestants alike, and the Pope also grew jealous of the growing power of Charles to dictate thus on religious questions.

Return of Maurice of Saxony to the Protestant side.

Moreover, the attempts of Charles to enforce the *Interim* throughout Germany with the help of the Spanish soldiers bitterly wounded the national spirit of the Germans. **Maurice of Saxony** was also irritated with the Emperor for not obtaining all the territories that he had expected after the victory of Muhlberg, and now resolved to play the role of a patriot and to strengthen the cause of Germanic independence through religious freedom. He was an apt disciple of Machiavelli in the art of duplicity. With the help of several other German princes, Maurice now concluded a treaty with Henry II of France (1552) by handing over Metz, Toul,

and Verdun and getting a promise of help in return. At the head of this combined army Maurice openly revolted against Charles, and was able to beat and nearly capture him at *Inspruck* (1552). With difficulty Charles, however, escaped into Italy.

Defeat and escape of Charles.

Ferdinand, the Emperor's brother, now made the preliminary *Treaty of Passau* (1552) with the Protestants allowing them to freely exercise their religion and to be represented in the Imperial Diet. Charles's attempts to secularise the Empire and thus to unify it to some extent ended in a failure.

The Treaty of Passau, 1552, and its importance.

Religious Peace of Augsburg :

The war however did not terminate with the treaty of Passau, as the League had to make war upon Albert Margrave of Brandenburg, who had refused to go by the treaty and joined with war upon Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, who had refused to go by the treaty and joined with Charles in attacking the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun in 1553 to recover them but failed. Maurice attacked and defeated Albert, but was himself killed in the engagement. Charles, now weary of the burden of government, left upon his brother Ferdinand, the task of the final settlement of the disputes in Germany, and in 1555 by the *Religious Peace of Augsburg* it was finally arranged that each estate of the Diet should choose between Catholicism and Lutheranism and should have the right to make his religion the worship of his people (*cujus regio, ejus religio*). Thus toleration was granted as far as the princes or governments were concerned, but the people individually had no freedom of worship though they were allowed to emigrate to a state which pro-

Charles's failure to recover the three Bishoprics.

Death of Maurice, 1553.

Arrangements arrived at Augsburg, 1555.

fessed the faith of their choice. Moreover, all ecclesiastical states which had become Protestants before 1552 were allowed to remain in the hands of their Protestant rulers, but no further secularization was to be allowed. The Catholics secured the addition of an important clause in the terms, known as the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*, by which any prelate becoming Protestant had to resign his office and all patronages connected with it; but the Protestants entered a protest against it.

Ecclesiastical Reservation.

Its defects:

It failed to grant religious toleration in its true sense. The Protestants in Catholic states and Catholics in Protestants states continued to be persecuted, as the religion of the German people was to be settled by the princes in whose territories they lived. Besides, it gave no concessions to the followers of Zwingli or Calvin, who were becoming the most active and progressive of the Reformers.

Religious toleration not fully secured, nor concessions given to other Reformed faiths.

Defective though this arrangement was, it gave peace to Germany for more than half a century till the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War which remedied all its defects and completed the Reformation.

Its political results:

1. Weakening of the Imperial power.

2. Internal division of Germany.

The peace threw the Reformers into the hands of the territorial princes who went on being powerful enough to weaken the Imperial power. Germany became divided into a number of independent petty states whose princes were dominated by mutual jealousy. *From this time to that of Frederick the Great, Germany ceased to be an international force.*

2. The Reformation in Switzerland :

Ulrich Zwingli and his work : 1484-1531.

Political condition of Switzerland.

Switzerland was a federal republic, consisting of many little cantons, which had emerged from the control of the Empire in the reign of Maximilian. Humanist teachings had already prepared the people for a change in their religious convictions, and, independently of the German Reformation, Zwingli conducted the religious movement. Born of a poor family in 1484, he took his degree at the University of Vienna and entered the church. In 1518 he began his work as a religious reformer in Zurich in Switzerland. Like Luther, he attacked the *Indulgences* and also opposed Pope Leo X for hiring the Swiss for his wars. He criticised the customs of fasting and celibacy of the clergy, and urged the people to place their religious faith on the Bible only. He laid much stress upon the reformation of morals, innocence of life, trust in God and resigned submission to Him. He quarrelled with the Bishop of Constance whose authority in Zurich was denied by the people. Berne, Basel, and several other cantons accepted his teachings, while others remained Catholic. Zwingli also sought to establish political equality among the cantons and to do away with the privilege of the four forest cantons in giving as many votes in the federal council as the rest of Switzerland taken together. In 1529, a civil war broke out and Zwingli's party defeated the four forest cantons. At the *Peace of Cappel* each canton was allowed to accept or reject the reformed faith according to the wishes of the majority in it. But in 1531 Zurich was defeated by the forest cantons and Zwingli was killed. The religious settlement

Zwingli starting the reform movement.

Character of his teachings.

Quarrel among the Swiss cantons.

however remained the same, and Switzerland, like Germany, continued to be partly Protestant and partly Catholic.

His Difference from Luther :

Zwinglism not identical with Lutheranism.

In the matter of church-government, Zwingli's ideas were much more democratic than those of Luther, as he contended for and established the supremacy of the 'congregation' in religious matters. But there was the most important difference between them regarding the Communion. While Luther rejecting the Catholic doctrine of 'Transubstantiation' asserted another of a moderate form which he called 'Consubstantiation', Zwingli protested against both and regarded the Communion service as a commemorative ceremony only. Further, Luther did not mix up religion with politics, but Zwingli's reforms were political as well as religious.

3. The Reformation in Geneva :

1509-1564.

Calvin and his work :

Political condition of Geneva and the teachings of Farel.

The city of Geneva, situated on the borders of Germany and the Latin country, became an active centre of the Reformation. While Zwingli was preaching his faith at Zurich, Guillaume Farel started the Reform movement there. In 1534 Geneva managed to be independent of the Duke of Savoy and of the Bishop who were disputing for authority in the city and the municipal council abolishing the Mass adopted Protestantism. But Farel had no power to organise the new form of religion, which was to be done by John Calvin.

Early career of Calvin.

John Calvin was a Frenchman by birth: born at Noyon in Picardy (1509). He had

studied law, as well as theology. Being an ardent advocate of the reformed faith, he had to leave France in 1534 for the religious persecutions and to continue his theological studies in Italy and Germany. In 1536 he published his '*Institutes of the Christian Religion*' in defence of Protestantism and shortly after appeared in Geneva where Farel asked him to organise the church. The harsh doctrines of his system were not much liked by the people and as he sought to control civil liberty through his new church, he was expelled by the republic (1538). From 1538-41 he remained in Strasburg, and was then recalled to Geneva owing to the renewed activities of the Roman Catholics there. He now organised the church in Geneva and continued to reside there till his death (1564).

Calvin's appearance in Geneva.

His exile and recall.

He taught the doctrine of 'Predestination' in its logical extreme *i.e.* from their very birth men were destined either to salvation or eternal perdition. While he rejected 'Transubstantiation', he did not, like Zwingli, regard the Communion as a merely commemorative ceremony, nor did he accept Luther's doctrine of 'Consubstantiation'; but he considered the ceremony as a necessary means of grace. He abolished all forms of worship and church festivals, and laid special stress upon simplicity, seriousness and strict morality, as well as on the liberal education of both sexes.

The teachings of Calvin.

Moreover according to his scheme, the Church and the State were to be separate ; he regarded the congregation or the community of believers as the sole source of authority and vested the executive power as well as the regulation of morals in an ecclesiastical council or

Distinctive features of his creed.

Calvin, the father of Presbyterianism.

Consistory, consisting of six qualified Pastors and twelve lay elders or Presbyters elected annually from the councils of the twon. Calvin was thus *the father of the Presbyterian form of church-government.*

His opponents and their persecution.

The rigid code of Calvin to reform society as well as religion met with opposition from a party called the *Libertines* who craved freedom in manners and desired to place the church under the state; but it was of no effect, and Calvin treated them with merciless severity Geneva became a centre of learning and a home of Protestant refugees, and it seemed for a time almost to balance the authority of Rome

Religious effects of Calvinism.

Calvin's system of faith, however rigid and inexorable, gave to Protestantism a clear and rigidly defined theology and inspired the Protestants with a remarkable strength of will, extraordinary devotion and indomitable enthusiasm which helped them to carry on resistance against the renewed attacks of the Roman church through the Counter-Reformation towards the end of the sixteenth century when life had gone from Lutheranism.

Comparative Influence of Calvinsm and Lutheranism :

Political tendencies of Calvinism.

Unlike Lutheranism which required the help of civil power, Calvinism was a self-governing form of faith. Each church formed a little democracy, and naturally ecclesiastical democracy fostered political democracy. Hence Calvinism obtained a far more favourable hearing than Lutheranism. While the democratic and aggressive character of Calvinism was distasteful to established governments, it was readily accepted by the opponents of those governments. Calvinism discarded Luther's

teaching as to the evils of employing force. Thus it produced the Scotch Covenanters, the English Puritans, as well as the Pilgrim Fathers in America. It made possible the long struggle of the Huguenots in France, and the resistance of the Dutch to Philip II of Spain which led to their independence in the long run. *'Calvinism' may thus be said to be 'the creed of the rebels'.*

Historic services of Calvinism.

4. The Reformation in Scandinavia :

Progress of the Reformation in Denmark and Norway :

The three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway and Sweden had been united under one king in 1397 by the famous *Union of Kalmar*, each country retaining its own laws and customs. The union was never popular, and the powers of the nobles and the clergy increased at the expense of the king and the free peasants. Christian II became king in 1513. He married Isabella, the sister of Emperor Charles V, which increased his influence.

Union of Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

In Denmark, Christian II brought a check upon the nobles by elevating the burghers and the peasants. He arbitrarily levied money from the clergy, and subjected the higher orders to taxation. He reformed the municipal government, built ships and made wise treaties. He encouraged commerce and manufacture and restricted the commercial privileges of the Hanseatic towns in the Baltic. He invited Lutheran preachers from Saxony, but he lost his throne in 1523 owing to his growing unpopularity. His uncle Frederick I, who succeeded him, had to take an oath not to permit any heretical teaching against Catholicism ; but as he was

Reign of Christian II in Denmark ; 1513-1523.

Frederick I, 1523-1533.

Frederick's toleration of the Lutherans.

a Protestant, he gave toleration to the Lutherans at the *Diet of Odensee* (1527). Frederick died in 1533 and the Catholics chose John, while the Lutherans selected Christian III, both of whom were sons of Frederick. In the so-called *Count's War*, Christian with the help of Sweden became successful and ascended the throne of Denmark. At the national assembly of Copenhagen held in 1536, the nobles supported the king to overthrow the authority of the Bishops, and a national Lutheran church was gradually created in Denmark. The Reformation was also introduced in Norway and Iceland, the dependencies of the kingdom of Denmark, during the reign of Christian III.

Establishment of Lutheranism under Christian III 1534-1559

Independence of Sweden, and Progress of the Reformation :

The Swedes were hostile to the Union of Kalmar and revolts of the nobles were of frequent occurance. In 1526, Christian II overthrew the aristocratic government of the Stures in Sweden and massacred the leaders of the nobles at Stockholm in cold blood. This terrible *'Blood-bath of Stockholm,'* doomed the Union of Kalmar for ever. The Swedes, desirous of getting rid of the unnatural union with the Danes, revolted under **Gustavus Vasa**, a native of Sweden. Gustavus collected an army of peasants and liberated his country from the Danes in 1524.

The 'Bloodbath of Stockholm', and the revolt of Sweden.

Swedish monarchy under Gustavus Vasa, 1523-1560.

Gustavus, establishing a strong monarchy in Sweden, next introduced the Reformation with the political motive of overthrowing the church and securing for the expenses of his government the clerical revenues. He also hoped to improve the condition of the nobles and to conciliate them thereby. He accordingly allowed

Lutheran preachers liberty of teaching and summoned a *Diet at Westeras* (1527) which was induced to issue certain articles sanctioning the preaching of the reformed faith and giving the king the power to dispose of the church-property. Thus the *Reformation was completed in Sweden principally on political necessity viz.* to increase the central authority of the king and to promote national unity. Unlike in Germany and Switzerland, it was first adopted by the Crown to further its own interests and then taught to the people. A strong hereditary monarchy was established in Sweden from this time.

Political motives for Swedish Reformation.

Sweden after Gustavus Vasa :

The strong monarchy founded by Gustavus Vasa passed to his son Eric (1560), who was deposed by his uncle John of Finland in 1567. John married a princess of the Polish House of Jagellon and secured for his son, Sigismund, the vacant throne of Poland. The bigoted Roman Catholicism of Sigismund and his persecution of the protestant subjects of Sweden enabled his uncle Charles to get hold of the Swedish throne in 1604, as Charles IX. Charles founded the Swedish monarchy on a Protestant basis, subdued the nobles and adopted measures for the welfare of his subjects; but he was killed in the course of a Danish war (1611).

Reign of Charles IX. 1600-1611.

His son and successor, the famous **Gustavus Adolphus**, closed the Danish war and concluded a peace with Russia which established a sort of maritime control of the Swedes in the Baltic. He then introduced a series of domestic reforms, reorganised the finances of the state and established a constitutional system of government without reducing the authority of the crown.

Ascendancy of Sweden under Gustavus Adolphus 1611-1632;

Gustavus Adolphus and the Thirty Years' War.

Being an enthusiast of the Protestant cause, he watched with interest the course of events in Germany, where the terrible Thirty Years' War had broken out in 1618. He waged war against Poland in 1620, which served as a diversion in favour of the Protestants then engaged in the Thirty Years' War, and developed his great military qualities in course of it. The failure of Christian IV of Denmark as the leader of the Protestants in the Thirty Years' War opened the way for Swedish interference in Germany, and with French support Gustavus took a prominent part in the struggle (*Vide Bk. I. Ch. VII*). He died in the *battle of Lutzen* in 1632.

Queen Christina, 1632-1654:

Policy of Chancellor Oxenstiern

During the minority of Gustavus's daughter Christina (1632-45), Chancellor **Oxenstiern** continued the policy, both foreign and domestic, of Gustavus. During the life of that king he devoted his whole energies to carry out his master's wishes and after his death to complete his policy. At home, he tried to effect permanently the alliance of the crown with the official nobility to serve as a counterpoise to the influence of the hereditary nobility and the clergy. Sweden received from him a written constitution, the first of its kind in the modern age, although it was of a narrow oligarchical type (1634). A peace was made with Poland by the cession of Polish Prussia (1635), and Christian IV of Denmark was compelled by the *Treaty of Bromsebro* (1645) to exempt Swedish vessels from the Sound-dues. At the *Treaty of Westphalia* (1648) which concluded the Thirty Years' War, Sweden secured the command of the Baltic by obtaining the greater part of Pomerania. Herself versed in classical learning, Christina was a patron of the men of letters, and was keenly interested

Progress of learning under Christina.

in philosophical questions. Grotius, Vossius, and Descartes were members of her court. She made Stockholm for the time the Athens of the North. Her religious belief being shaken by her philosophical researches, she abdicted in favour of her cousin Charles X. and embracing Catholicism retired to Rome (1654).

Abdication of the Queen.

5. The Reformation in England.

Henry VIII and the Papacy :

The spirit of the *Renaissance* had already reached England. The group of humanists, Erasmus, Colet, More, better known as *Oxford Reformers*, sought to permeate the old Christian faith with new classical thoughts and created a passion in England for a reform of the church. King Henry however regarded the Papacy as an useful institution of divine origin and was on good terms with the Pope, but when Luther began his attack on the Papacy in Germany, Henry, vain of his theological learning, wrote a Latin treatise in defence of the Seven Sacraments attacked by Luther, and earned from Pope Leo X the title of 'Defender of the Faith' which is still borne by the sovereigns of England. This friendly understanding between Henry and the Pope was however soon ruffled by the rise of the Divorce question.

Origin of the Reform movement —the Oxford Reformers.

Henry as Defender of the Faith.

The Divorce Question and Breach with the Papacy :

Henry had married Catharine (daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella), the widow of his brother Prince Arthur, by virtue of a special dispension from Pope Julius II. Catharine had no male issue : and Henry grew tired of her and

Henry seeking divorce from Catharine.

at the same time fell in love with a sprightly young maid-of-honour, Anne Boleyn. He now began to think of a divorce from Catharine and asked Pope Clement VII to annul the marriage. But, as Catharine was the aunt of Emperor Charles V, the Pope deferred the matter, and appointed **Cardinal Wolsey,** the minister of Henry, and an Italian legate Campeggio to conduct an investigation in England (1529); but nothing came out of it and Campeggio suddenly went back to Rome. Being angry, Henry disgraced Wolsey and determined of a complete breach with the Pope. Luckily however, he got the support of the English people.

The Pope's dilatoriness and Henry's, determination for a breach with Rome.

First, Henry with the help of the Parliament secured the submission of the clergy to his own authority, and then began to appropriate for himself all payments, *e.g.* Annates, Peter's Pence, &c., hitherto made to the Pope. Next, in 1533, the *Act of Appeals* was passed by which appeals to Rome were restrained. Henry then appointed his friend Thomas Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury, referred the divorce to him, got a decree of separation (1533), and marrying Anne proclaimed her queen.

The first steps in the breach.

When Parliament met in 1534, Henry procured from it some Acts which completed the breach with Rome: the *Act of Annates* conferred on the English crown absolutely the first fruits of the bishoprics; the king's right to appoint bishops was recognised and all appeals were to be heard by the delegates appointed by the king; lastly, the *Act of Supremacy* declared the king as the "Supreme Head in earth of the church of England." *"Thus Henry, head of*

The breach with Rome completed by the Parliament.

the State became also the head of the Church, or briefly the English Pope."

Protestant Changes in the Anglican Church, and Henry's Attitude :

The Act of Supremacy had dealt a fatal blow to English Catholicism and thus secured the independence of the Anglican church. To promote unity of belief, the Ten Articles of Religion were drawn up by the Convocation in 1536, which in some points showed a distinct advance towards Lutheranism. The Bible edited by Miles Coverdale was translated into English and placed in every church ; doctrines regarding purgatory, indulgences and Masses for the dead were condemned : relics and images were destroyed and pilgrimages were disallowed. But the most drastic innovation was the suppression of all the monasteries on the ground of their corruption in course of four years by virtue of an Act passed in 1536.

Protestant changes in the English church.

In his orthodoxy, Henry, however, alarmed at the spread of Lutheran heresy, published a Confession of Faith in the *Six Articles* (1539) which declared for some of the leading doctrines of the Roman church *e.g.* celibacy of the clergy, Transubstantiation, &c. Thus Henry's attitude was to retain the doctrine, worship and organisation of the Catholic church in England, but at the same time to eliminate the authority of the Pope and to substitute for it the power of the Crown. The remaining part of the reign of Henry witnessed the persecution of both Protestants and Catholics for their disagreement from the Six Articles and refusal to accept the Act of Supremacy respectively. Henry died in 1547.

The Six Articles of Religion, explaining Henry's attitude.

Protestant Advance under Edward VI:

Edward VI, 1547-53.

Edward, the son and successor of Henry, being a minor, his uncle Somerset held the reins of government as Protector. Being Protesant in sympathies, he introduced a series of changes in the church. Pictures and images were abolished; all laws against heresy were repealed, and a *Book of Common Prayer* was issued. These innovations, and the invasion of Scotland which involved England in a war with France, led to the fall of Somerset (1549). Duke of Northumberland now assumed the Regency and substantially followed the policy of Somerset. In 1552 the *second Prayer Book* was issued, and next year *Forty-two Articles of Faith*, saturated with Calvinistic spirit, were set forth as grounds of belief for the Anglican church. Conformity was enforced by imprisonment and the followers of the old faith were deprived of their sees or committed to the Tower. But as the majority of the nation were still Catholic, these radically protestant measures disgusted them; and for this reason when Edward died and Northumberland to keep himself in power tried to secure the throne for Protestant Lady Jane Grey (the great-granddaughter of Henry VII), people thronged round Catholic Mary Tudor, daughter of Catharine and Henry VIII, and hailed her as their queen in 1533.

Dogmatic changes by Protector Somerset.

Protestant misrule of Northumberland.

Catholic Reaction under Mary Tudor:

Mary Stuart, 1553-58.

Mary, the daughter of the Catholic Queen Catharine of Aragon, naturally turned towards restoration of Catholicism on her accession. She restored the Mass, revoked the Act of Supremacy and re-united England to the church

of Rome. In 1555 the statutes against heretics were revived and a large number of them were burnt to death. People became disgusted with Mary's radically Catholic policy. Moreover, against the wishes of her people she married Philip II of Spain, the son of Emperor Charles V. The marriage however proved unfortunate as Philip cared nothing for her. To please her husband she drew England into the Spanish war with France which led to the loss of Calais, —the last English possession in France (1558). Mary died shortly after in a broken heart.

Mary and Catholic restoration.

Loss of Calais,

Settlement of the English Church under Elizabeth :

On the death of Mary, her half-sister Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, came to the throne. She sought to follow the *via media* or the middle course in religion, as her desire was to make the English church as far as possible the church of the nation. She believed herself to be tolerant, and her only concern was with open expressions of opinion and outward conformity.

Elizabeth, 1558-1603.

Her religious policy.

Her first Parliament passed the *Act of Uniformity* forbidding the clergy to depart from the service laid down in the second Prayer book of Edward ; a new *Act of Supremacy* was also passed which declared the Queen as the 'Supreme Governor of the realm in things spiritual as well as temporal' and proclaimed thereby the independence of the Anglican church (1559). To enforce conformity on the clergy the *Court of High Commission* was established. Outward conformity to the church was insisted on by Elizabeth in 1564, owing to the increased

Settlement of the Anglican Church.

Elizabeth and the Non-Conformists :

activities of the Puritans and the Separatists who were not satisfied with her half-measures. Forty-two Articles of Faith were reduced to thirty-nine, and Parliament enforced subscription to it (1571). Thus the independent Anglican church was finally established which henceforth became a champion of the Protestant world ; and as the Roman reaction was growing again with the appearance of the Jesuits in England in 1580, a great Protestant-Roman struggle, conducted by their respective champions England and Spain, seemed inevitable.

Circumstances forcing her to champion the Protestant cause.

England's Struggle with Spain, and its Effects :

Of all the leading powers in Europe, Spain was the most aggressively Roman Catholic, and this rendered England's understanding with Spain impossible. Further commercial motives came to supplement religious ; and when early in the reign of Elizabeth, the Dutch were trying to throw off their Spanish yoke and to interest England in the war, the English queen at first sent secret aid to them and privateers like Drake were encouraged to plunder Spanish colonies. At last when Philip's part in the Catholic conspiracies to place Catholic Mary Queen of Scots on the throne of England was un-earthed, Elizabeth openly helped the infant republic of Holland by sending a strong expedition under the Earl of Leicester (1585). Though Leicester could do little, Philip became angry and prepared a strong fleet of 132 galleons—proudly called the *Invincible Armada*,—to invade and humble England. The Armada set sail in 1588, but the excellent seamanship of the English mariners and an unfavourable wind led to her destruction.

Defeat of the '*Invincible Armada*' 1588.

England was saved, and more than England, the cause of Protestantism. The maritime supremacy of Spain was broken, and England now understood that her true sphere was the sea. Englishmen, got for the first time the idea of extending their empire by establishing colonies. Commercial relations were now opened with various countries of the world which increased the wealth of England, developed her industries and manufactures, and made England ultimately the greatest maritime power in the world.

Defeat of the Armada, —the turning point in the history of England.

6. The Reformation in Scotland :

Though a poor and sparsely peopled country Scotland was, her numerous clergy were wealthy, lazy, and abuses were deeply rooted among them. Luther's teachings had reached there and from 1528 onwards few Lutherans were burnt, the protomartyr being Patrick Hamilton.

Martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton.

When James V of Scotland died (1542), his only infant daughter Mary became Queen of Scots. Her mother, Mary of Guise, assumed the regency and sent her over to France for education where she was betrothed to the Dauphin, and an alliance was formed between France and Scotland. Being imbued with French ideas, Mary naturally became a violent opponent of the Reformation.

Mary Queen of Scots, an opponent of the Reformed faith.

At the instance of Cardinal Beton, Archbishop of St. Andrews in Scotland, one George Wishart, who was preaching the Gospel in that country, was arrested, tried and burnt for heresy (1546). Thereupon Beton was murdered and St. Andrews was held by the Protestant party. **John Knox**, a disciple of Wishart, appeared

John Knox preaching the reformed faith.

there and began to preach. The Regent, Mary of Guise, with the help of the French captured St. Andrews, and Knox was shipped off and punished to serve in the galleys. After his release, Knox became one of King Edward VI's select preachers in England; but he had to flee to Geneva, on the accession of Catholic Mary Tudor on the English throne, and to settle there with Calvin. Knox returned to Scotland in 1555 to preach and organise, and gained some powerful supporters among the nobles. But as he was again summoned before an ecclesiastical court, he again departed for Geneva.

John Knox in England and his escape to Geneva.

First Covenant signed by the Scottish nobles.

As the Reformation had already gained ground among the nobles who hoped to get rich church-lands which awaited secularisation, the first Covenant was signed in 1557, and the 'Congregation of Jesus Christ,' was formed under their leaders, the *'Lords of the Congregation.'* They demanded that Edward VI's Prayer Book should be enforced in the churches. The Regent was powerless owing to the disunion among the bishops and the nobles. The Mass was suppressed, images were smashed, and priests were rabbled.

Elizabeth's assistance to the Lords of the Congregation.

In 1558 Mary Queen of Scots married the Dauphin Francis II and in 1559 they became rulers of France. The Regent was now making a last desperate attempt to crush the Reformation in Scotland with the aid of the French troops, but she failed as Elizabeth sent English troops to help the Lords of the Congregation. A *Treaty* was signed *at Edinburgh* (1560) by which the French agreed to leave Scotland and to acknowledge Elizabeth's title to the English throne which had been claimed by Mary Queen of Scots. Mary of Guise now

died, and at a Parliament which met at Edinburgh the authority of the Pope was rejected and the Mass was abolished; a Confession of Faith was drawn up by Knox, which became the creed of the new Presbyterian church of Scotland.

Presbyterianism established 1560.

Mary Queen of Scots arrived in Scotland in 1561, and acknowledged the new Calvinistic establishment; but she insisted, in defiance of Knox, on the retention of the Mass in her own chapel so that it might be possible for her to have a favourable opportunity to fight for her creed. A struggle, which practically became a civil war, now ensued between the Marian party and the Protestant followers of Knox.

Mary Queen of Scots' opposition and the civil war.

Eventually, Mary had to flee from Scotland when her subjects revolted against her (1567) for her complicity in the murder of her second husband Lord Darnley and her marriage with Earl of Bothwell. She now took refuge in England where she became the centre of Roman Catholic plots against Elizabeth, and was beheaded in 1587. Meanwhile the Reformation in Scotland went on till it practically expelled Roman Catholicism.

Mary's escape from Scotland.

Mary in England and her execution.

7. The Polish Reformation:

The Reformation in Poland pursued its course for nearly half a century. The condition of the church in Poland necessitated reform. The Pope exercised excessive authority, the clergy bore no public burdens; the sale of '*Indulgences*,' simony and other exactions of the Papacy told on the economic condition of the country, and the unworthy and ignorant monks and clergy administered but poorly to the spiritual needs of the people.

Condition of the Polish church on the eve of the Reformation

During the fifteenth century, Hussite doc-

trines spread in Poland, preparing the minds receipient of new ideas. It was not long before the wave of the Reformation reached western or Polish Prussia from Germany conquering the minds of men. The ecclesiastical authorities tried to suppress it, but failed. King Sigismund I of Poland, actuated by political motives, also attempted to arrest its progress, but he too became unsuccessful. Albert of Brandenburg, the last Grand-Master of the Teutonic Order, became Protestant, and, when in 1525 he obtained the Duchy of Prussia as a fief of the Polish crown he began to introduce the reformed faith of Luther into his dominions. In Poland proper, frequent Acts of the ecclesiastical synods against the new faith could effect little, as the ecclesiastical courts were regarded with general contempt and the powerful nobles were hostile to the clergy. Sigismund I, with his lack of zeal, could not check the tide of the Reformation.

Spread of Lutheran opinions and the opposition by Sigismund I.

Sigismund II, who succeeded in 1548, was friendly to the movement and individual nobles took what line they pleased. These circumstances favoured not only the free spread of Lutheran views but also other heretical opinions. The Bohemian Brethren with their advanced Hussite opinions, being expelled by Emperor Ferdinand in 1548, entered Poland. The sect evangelised many districts of Polish Prussia and of Great Poland.

Attitude of Sigismund II.

The Bohemian Brethren.

During the reign of Sigismund Augustus (1548-72), the Polish Reformation was at its height, when the Polish Diet gave every nobleman the right of adopting any form of worship in conformity with the scriptures for his own house. Everything pointed to the triumph of the Reformation. But too much liberty became a

Ecclesiastical license under Sigismund Augustus.

source of weakness. The Bohemian Brethren established in Polish Prussia and Great Poland united with the Calvinists of Little Poland and Lithuania (1555). But the Lutherans were persistently opposed to any sort of union. Every attempt to put an end to divisions failed, and at length the *Synod of Sandemir* (1570) proclaimed only mutual toleration. Thus by the year 1572, the critical time of the death of Sigismund Augustus, the Protestant sects were established in Poland with their mutual jealousies.

Division among the Reformers.

Synod of Sandemir, 1570.

Meanwhile dangers were arising. Though after the death of Sigismund Augustus, Protestants and Catholics got equal political rights in the Diet of the newly established oligarchy, the reign of the second elected king, Stephen Bathori, witnessed the beginning of a Catholic reaction. This was due to the exertions of the Jesuits who had entered Poland (1570), gained over the powerful nobles and usurped the institutions of higher education. Sigismund III, the third elected king, took vigorous measures to restore Catholicism, and henceforth began a more effective opposition which was destined to attain complete success in the future.

Beginning of the Catholic reaction.

8. The Reformation in the Catholic South :

The tide of the Reformation which was passing over Northern Europe in the earlier half of the sixteenth century did not leave the South untouched.

(a) Its Progress in Italy :

Pope Adrian VI, a good scholar, an upright and pious man, attempted to reform the

practical abuses of the Church ; but he failed as the *curia* was determined not to be reformed. Then a party, consisting of clergy and laity led by **Giovanni Pietro Caraffa** (afterwards Pope Paul IV), and the Count Caetano da Thiene, tried to reform the Church from within, but the attempt also met with failure. The revolt against abuses however prepared the way for a movement of a more destructive kind.

Caraffa's failure to reform the Church of Rome.

The reformed opinions of Germany were slowly appearing south of the Alps. Luther and Zwingli had many admirers in Italy, and their writings, translated into Italian, were largely circulated there. The Reform movement found active centres in Venice, Terrara, Modena, Naples, and Lucca. But Pope Paul III established the *Court of Inquisition* in Rome on the Spanish basis empowering six cardinals to try matters of faith and inflict the penalty of death ; and Pope Paul IV (Caraffa) completed the extension of its power over the whole of Italy, and published the *Index* or the list of prescribed heretical writings, thus paralyzing the movement everywhere in Italy.

Progress of the Reformed faith checked by the Inquisition.

(b) Its Progress in Spain :

The Reform movement in Spain had little vitality except in two centres, Valladolid and Seville. The writings of Erasmus, full of his liberal thoughts and ridicule of religious customs, entered Spain from Rotterdam and stirred the minds of earnest men. But repressive measures were promptly taken by Charles I, and the *Inquisition* easily led to the suppression of the movement. Even in Seville, the reformed religious institutions of such eminent reformers as Rodrigo de Valer and his disciples Juan, Gil, and Constantino, and at Valladolid, the fol-

Emperor Charles crushing the movement through the Inquisition

lowers of such an eminent preacher as Agustin Cazalla, were suppressed with the strong hand of the *Inquisition*. Many persons—even the Moors and the Jews—fled to Flanders and other foreign countries where they lived and died.

(c) Its Progress in Portugal :

Reformation checked through persecution from time to time.

In Portugal the religious movement never attained a serious character ; a few Erasmites (followers of Erasmus) were proceeded against for heresy from time to time, and that was all. The *Lisbon Inquisition* founded by king Dom Joao III with a real motive to fleece the Jews to replenish the royal treasury, only made Protestantism impossible in Portugal.

The Reformation in the Netherlands

The Protestant movement which troubled Germany in the earlier part of the sixteenth century was carried into the Low Countries. The Lutheran heresy, as it first appeared there, met with relentless hostility which took a more serious character during Charles's reign. In 1522 the *Inquisition* was set up in the Netherlands and in 1550 it was spurred on to a greater activity. But Lutheran heresy did not disappear, even though such drastic measures, as burning at the sake, became common occurences. Then the Calvinists entered the country, joined the Lutherans and strengthened the Protestant cause. Thus before Charles's abdication the reformed doctrines became deeply rooted in the Netherlands.

Emperor Charles failed to check the progress of Protestantism.

Under Philip II, son and successor of Charles V, the Netherlands witnessed a system of unparalleled persecution. Both Catholics and Protestants, disgusted at Philip's disgraceful policy of persecution, joined hands and revolted. But Don John of Austria and the

Persecution of Philip II and revolt of the Netherlands.

Duke of Parma, the shrewd governors of Philip in the Netherlands, succeeded in winning over the south to Catholic Spain while the north became a Protestant republic. (*Vide Bk. I Ch. V.*).

General Character of the Reformation :

The Reformation was essentially a *Teutonic movement.* It was due to the reaction of the Teutonic mind against the Roman. The Latinised or Romanised nations of the South being imaginitive and sentimental attached great importance to pompous rites and ceremonies of worship, which distinguished the Catholic church from the Protestant. Hence while the movement prevailed in the northern states of Europe, it was miscarried in the south which remained in the old faith. Again, it was a *dual movement,* being an insurrection against the Papacy and at once a great renovation of the religious and moral life of Europe. Besides, the movement was influenced from the beginning by political motives and was sustained chiefly by factions and ambitious states.

A Teutonic movement.

A 'Dual movement.

General Effects of the Reformation :

The Reformation broke the bonds which so long united the nations of the Teutonic race in Europe with the Romance nations, and this severance meant a transfer of the allegiance by the former from the *Church* to the *Bible.* This release from the Papal servitude helped the progress of civil liberty in Europe because the democratic and aggressive character of the Reformed doctrines found support with those discontented with the established order of things. The nations accepting the Reformation thus became 'absolutely independent or sovereign powers, self-centred and self-governed

...ance between Teutonic and Romance nations.

(b) Progress of civil liberty in Europe.

in their religious as well as in their political life'. Moreover, by insisting upon every man's right to form own judgment in religious matters, it practically paved the way for the principle of religious toleration.

(c) Mighty impulse given to religious toleration.

CHAPTER IV

The Counter-Reformation.

Origin of the Movement :

During the first half of the sixteenth century when Luther began to preach his doctrine of 'Justification of Faith,' some earnest and thoughtful men broke off from the corrupt Roman church professing the new faith of Luther, while others sought earnestly to reform the old church from within (*Vide Bk. I. Ch. III, 'Reformation in Italy'*). The popes however, being more concerned with the politics of Italy, remained indifferent for a time, till the rapid spread of Protestantism throughout Europe awakened them to the real urgency of action. When in 1527, during the war between Emperor Charles V and Francis I, Rome was sacked by an Imperial army, the most serious and pious of the Catholics took it to be the judgment of God upon the city for its wickedness and urgently demanded a thorough reform of their church. Thus the tide of Counter-Reformation began to flow, and the leaders of Catholicism sought to effect a Catholic revival in Europe with the hope of winning back the people to the Roman obedience.

Rapid spread of Luther's doctrines, and Sack of Rome led to the demand for Catholic Revival.

Chief Agents of the Counter-Reformation:

These were (*a*) the Society of the Jesuits ; (*b*) the Council of Trent ; and (*c*) the Inquisition.

(a) *The Society of the Jesuits*

The religious fraternity known as the Society of the Jesuits, or the *Order of Jesus* was founded by **Ignatius Loyola,** a native of Spain. Born in a noble family, Loyola became a soldier in his youth. Crippled by a canon shot at the siege of Pampeluna in 1521, (*Vide Bk. I. Ch. II.*) he chanced to read some lives of the saints. This so fired his imagination that he resolved to emulate their achievements. He went to Paris to study theology, and there he founded his new society wth some of his fast friends, (1534). The Society was recognised by Pope Paul III in 1540, because the members took an oath to carry out the commands of the Pope without hesitation and delay. The object of the society was to meet the ardour and activity of the Reformers by the energy, devotion and self-renunciation of its own members, who were enjoined neither to distinguish themselves by any special dress nor to weaken themselves by extreme ascetic practices. Moreover the members of the Order had to eradicate from their minds any national feeling, and, above all, to be cospmopolitan and always ready to serve the Chufch only.

Career of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Order.

The object and distinctive features of the Society.

Each member had to undergo a novicate for two years, after taking vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience to the general and the Pope. The final authority of the Order was vested in a general (elected) and strict discipline was observed ; it was thus a "military organisation for religious purposes." As the members had not to observe the ordinary duties of monastic order, they got ample time for their special works, though they had to cut off all

Constitution and organisation of the Society.

ordinary ties of life and every communication with their homes.

The Jesuits became famous preachers, professors, courtries, physicians, scientists and missionaries. Their aim was to fill the world with schools and colleges, which they gradually did and thus instilled their doctrines into the minds of the young men of the time. They devoted themselves to contemporary politics and became cunning diplomats and conspirators in European courts. Thus, through their untiring efforts, they helped to destroy Protestantism in Italy, Spain, France, Poland, and in the dominions of the Hapsburgs,—the countries, in short, which still remained Catholic. Macaulay remarks, "the history of the Jesuits is the history of the Catholic reaction."

Activities and services of the members of the Society of the Jesuits.

One of the distinguished missionaries of the Society whose labours in India, Japan, and other lands of the Far East were attended with marvellous success was Francis Xavier (1506-52), better known as the "Apostle of the Indies." The celebrated educational institution in Calcutta, the St. Xavier's College, is associated with his name.

Francis Xavier.

(b) *The Council of Trent*

There was a cry for general church-council to settle religious disputes in Germany during the Reformation, and Emperor Charles V assured the people of calling one while concluding the Religious Peace of Nuremburg in 1532 (*Vide Bk. I. Ch. III.*)

The origin of the Council.

Pope Paul III summoned such a council (1545) at Trent but it failed in its object. The Emperor and the Pope quarrelled. The Pope transferred the Council to Bologna in France (1547) and the Emperor declared it invalid.

First session of the Council, 1545.

Consequently it ended without doing anything important.

Second session of the Council, 1551.

Pope Julius III, successor of Paul III, was friendly to the Emperor. Induced by him, the Pope convened the Council again at Trent (1551), but he refused to depart from orthodox views; so the second session of the council also failed.

During the Papacy of Paul IV (Caraffa) the demand for a general council rose again; but the Pope, who undertook to save the Church through the Papacy (*Vide Bk. I. Ch. III. 'Reformation in Italy'*,) did nothing more than abolishing nepotism, the greatest vice of the Popes. However, Pius IV, successor of Paul IV, called the third session of the Council in 1562. This session confined itself only to the work of regeneration of the Romish church, as the Protestants had already secured some sort of religious toleration by the Peace of Augsburg. Many church abuses were done away with, the old system of worship was given a more rigid shape, the divine character of the Papacy was reasserted, and Protestantism was condemned. It also demanded that priests and bishops should lead their lives strictly according to the code of Christian purity and morality.

Third session of the Council, 1562.

Importance of the session.

(c) *The Inquisition :*

The Inquisition reorganised by Pope and its results.

It was an ecclesiastical tribunal established in Rome (1542) by Pope Paul III, at the suggestion of Cardinal Caraffa, on the Spanish model for the purpose of tracing and punishing heresy. The penalty which the judges (who were cardinals) pronounced, was usually confiscation of property or death, which was executed by civil authorities without hesitation or delay. It showed a notable activity in Spain, Italy, and

the Netherlands. In Italy and Spain, its successful operations crushed the Reformation, but in the Netherlands it produced quite the opposite effect. The Inquisition was also entrusted with the censorship of the press, and an index of forbidden books was drawn up (1555) which no Catholic could read.

Results of the Counter-Reformation :

(1) Power of the Pope increased.

(2) Roman Church strengthened

(3) Lives of the Popes and the clergy improved.

(4) Return of countries to ancient faith.

The Council of Trent completed the Counter-Reformation helped by the Jesuits and the Inquisition. The Council gave to Catholics a definite body of doctrine, strengthened the authority of the Pope, and under its influence the Roman Church being organised acquired a new strength and consistency to fight its battle with Protestantism for more than half a century. Besides, the Council influenced and improved the lives of the Popes and the clergy who commanded the veneration of the people as before. Helped by Spain, the Inquisition, and the Jesuits, Catholicism entered on a career of conquest of those countries which had fallen away from the old church, and became successful to check the growing tide of the Reformation.

CHAPTER V.

Spain and the Revolt of the Netherlands.

Spain under Emperor Charles:

Unlike in Germany, the reign of Charles V, the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, was in a sense glorious for Spain. The extensive dominions inherited by Charles (*Vide Bk. I. Ch. I.*) added considerably to the political importance of the country. Besides, great additions were made to the Spanish power in Italy and better administration had been introduced into the Spanish possessions in the New World. Spain came to be the head of a world-wide empire, and her preponderance disturbed alarmingly the equilibrium of the European political system. But as Charles, being elected Emperor, cared more for the Imperial interest than for the true interest of Spain, that country was regularly drained of her men and money to advance the personal prestige of her king. He successfully asserted the forces of the monarchy against all rival powers, and laid the foundation of royal depotism in Spain. He deprived the cities of Castile of almost all their liberties when they revolted against his arbitrary measures in 1521, humbled their ancient Parliament (the Cortés), and very largely used the *Inquisition* for persecuting the Moors and the Jews. The last thirteen years of his reign were spent in Germany, and Spain suffered incalculable internal injuries on account of his divided interests and his short-sighted home-policy.

Spain head of a world-wide empire.

Charles, caring more for Imperial interests, ruled as a despot in Spain.

Last Days of Charles and his Character:

Broken in spirit by the issue of his contest with the Protestant princes of Germany and by the triumph of his rival King Henry II of France, Charles decided to spend his last days in monastic seclusion and abdicated in favour of his son Philip the crowns of the Netherlands and of Spain and its colonies, and his Austrian and German possessions went to his brother Archduke Ferdinand who was also elected Emperor (1556). Henceforth, *the House of Hapsburg became divided into two branches,* one reigning in Spain and the other in Austria. Charles died two years later in the monastery of Yuste in Western Spain where he had retired (1558).

Abdication of Charles, 1556.

His death 1558.

Though not a man of extraordinary genius, he was "the greatest monarch of the sixteenth century." A good friend and a kind master in private life, he was never vindictive as an enemy. In spite of his great sagacity, his astonishing skill and unwearied application in business, his ambition and intolerance plunged Europe in wars for half a century. Even at the time of his death, he advised Philip to cherish the *Inquisition* in order to "bring to justice any heretic in his dominions, and this without exception and without favour or mercy to any one."

Character of Charles.

Reign of Philip II (1556-98):

His dominions:

On his accession, Philip came to be the ruler of vast dominions, *viz.*, Spain and her colonies, Naples, Sicily, Milan, and the Netherlands, although the Imperial crown had passed out of the Spanish line of the House of Hapsburgs. Again, just before the abdiction of his father, he had married Mary Tudor of England

Countries ruled by Philip.

in the hope of adding that country to his dominions which however was not realised; but in the middle of his reign he acquired Portugal and its rich dependencies in Africa and the East Indies. Thus the dominions of Philip were scarcely less extensive than those of hs father.

His wars with France :

Soon after his accession, Philip had to wage war against the French king, Henry II, who sought to weaken the hold of Spain on Italy and the Netherlands, and in this war he was aided by the English who were persuaded to this step by their queen, Mary Tudor, now the wife of Philip. Alva, his governor of Naples, reduced Pope Paul IV (Caraffa) who had joined with Henry II to drive the Spaniards out of Italy. Philip defeated the French at *St. Quentin* and at *Gravelines*, and Henry II was ultimately forced to agree to the *Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis* (1559) which terminated the long struggle between France and the Hapsburgs that had begun since the accession of Charles V. Spain was now left in undisputed sway of Naples and Milan, and Philip won great distinction in the eyes of all Europe. (*Vide Bk. I. Ch. II.*)

Defeat of the French by Philip.

Treaty of Cateau-cambresis, 1559.

In 1595, Philip again found himself involved in a war with Henry IV of France, for the assistance he had rendered as the champion of Catholic reaction to the Catholic League in France in the War of the Three Henries. (*Vide Bk. II, Ch. VI*). Peace was however concluded by the *Treaty of Vervins* (1598) on the basis of mutual restitutions of conquests.

Peace of Vervins, 1598.

His war with the Dutch :

Born and brought up in Spain, Philip "was a devout Catholic and found in the cause and

success of his religion the direct and easy attainment of his political ends." His religious bigotry and policy of persecution horrified the Protestant people of the Netherlands who rose in revolt (1572) and carried on their heroic struggle for liberty for a long time till they were able to win their freedom and establish the independent Dutch Republic in Europe.

Revolt of the Netherlands, 1572.

His stuggle with England :

The help rendered to the Dutch by Queen Elizabeth of England during the revolt of the Netherlands infuriated Philip and he sent the "*Invincible Armada*" against her. But Fate was against Philip and the expedition failed miserably (1588). Henceforth the maritime supremacy of Spain, and with it her commercial greatness, began to decline. (*Vide Bk. I, Ch. III.*)

Failure of Philip's *Invincible Armada*, 1588.

His opposition to the Turks :

The Ottoman Turks had already obtained a control of the Mediterranean and had dealt a death-blow to the Venetian commerce. Besides they were pushing towards Germany and becoming a terror to Christian Europe, and the Moslem pirates of Northern Africa were infesting the coasts of Italy and Spain. So the Pope, Venice, and Spain formed a league and sent a fleet under Philip's half-brother, **Don John of Austria,** which defeated the Turks in the gulf of *Lepanto* in Greece (1571). Henceforth Mahomedan sea-power received a check never to rise again.

Defeat of the Turkish fleet at Lepanto,

His annexation of Portugal :

When Henry, the last native king of Portugal, died (1580), Philip laid claim to the throne, sent Duke of Alva with an army, and promising

Acquisition of Portugal by Philip.

to respect her ancient liberties won over the clergy and the nobles. When he got possession of the state with her immense colonial possessions in South America, in Africa and in the East Indies, he did not keep his promise and subverted her constitution to serve the purpose of his Spanish monarchy.

His domestic policy :

To establish his absolutism at home, Philip suppressed the constitutional privileges and liberties of his subjects. The Aragonese constitution was suppressed, the *Cortés* became a chamber of king's nominees, and the court of Justicia was turned to a king's court. His religious bigotry led him to banish the Jews, and to adopt a policy of systematic extermination of the Moriscoes or the domiciled Moors of Spain who were forbidden to write or speak in Arabic, to sing national songs, to use their national dress, to maintain the seclusion of their women and were deported wholesale from Granada to inland provinces (1591). He also used the *Inquisition* unscrupulously to crush individual liberty of thought of his subjects as well as to paralyse their industrial and agricultural activities. Thus in his administration at home, he sapped the vitality of the country, and Spain, which was at the height of her glory at the time of his accession, moved a long way towards her future decline.

Absolutism and Inquisition, as the two engines of Philip's domestic government.

Expulsion of the Jews and the Moors

His death and character :

Philip died in 1598. Unlike his father, he was a *representative Spaniard ;* in him were embodied the traits, the ideals, and the aspirations of the Spanish people. While his father recognised the claims of his several dominions

Character of Philip and his principles of government.

and was never partial to any particular nationality, Philip looked upon his provinces outside Spain as subject-states or dependencies. Philip was habitually reserved, but his manners were extremely cold and haughty. Unlike his father, he was never in touch with his ministers, nor did he possess the rare gift of choosing proper men to carry out his designs. Charles V subordinated religion to politics and was never a bigot like his son, with whom religious bigotry and dynastic ambition were inseparable. Resolved to establish religious unity at all costs, Philip became the willing vassal of the Papacy and identified himself thoroughly with the movement of the Counter-Reformation, whereas his father had been always anxious to dictate his own terms to the Pope and to rule both over the church and the state. Philip hated all resistance to his authority. Outside Spain, he was considered as the darkest tyrant of the age and the most persistent enemy of liberty and culture. Though as an administrator, he was as unwearied in business as Emperor Julian and busied himself with the endless details of government, his reign undoubtedly hastened the decline of Spain in every respect.

Contrast between Charles V and Philip II.

Estimate of Philip's administration.

* The Revolt of the Netherlands :

Condition of the Country at the Accession of Philip :

The Netherlands consisted of seventeen provinces, each independent of the other and governed by its own independent institutions. Each province had a provincial assembly of clergy, nobility and commons with a democra-

* Students are referred to the author's publication, *'The Elizabethan Age.'*

tic constitution, each looking like a small republic. For common purposes general assemblies were held from time to time which were attended by the deputies from the different states, but these did not knit the provinces together by a common political bond of union. Besides, the people of the country were different in race and language, those of the northern provinces being chiefly Teutons and speaking a German dialect while the southern provinces being chiefly inhabited by the Celts who spoke a French dialect. Again, in the sixteenth century when the Reform movement reached the Netherlands, the northern provinces embraced the doctrines of John Calvin which were quite in harmony with their republican principles while the southern provinces remained Catholic.

Causes of disunion of the provinces of the Netherlands.

In the later Middle Age, the provinces of the Netherlands became loosely united by a dynastic union when they passed under the control of Philip, Duke of Burgundy. But as the ducal family died out in the male branch with Charles the Bold (1477), the Netherlandish provinces passed under his daughter Mary and her husband Emperor Maximilian of the House of Hapsburg, and through them under Emperor Charles V. (*Vide Table p. 21*) Charles tried to unite the provinces by a common law and a common system of administration, establishing the Supreme Court of Justicia and the States-General or the common parliament, but he partially succeeded on account of the religious differences of the people. He therefore introduced the *Inquisition* in the country and issued an edict in 1550 to punish the heretics with severest penalties, but in spite of it, at the end of his reign, heresy became more

Loose union of the provinces under the Dukes of Burgundy

Attempts of Charles V for union.

firmly established than ever before. After his abdication (1555), when Philip II got the crown of the Netherlands, he thought that political unity of the provinces was impossible without religious unity and, from motives both of policy and religion, he determined to crush the Protestant movement by his arbitrary way of government and a terrible policy of persecution which roused the bitter opposition from the people.

Philip's policy at his accession.

Causes of the Revolt :

1. Activity of the Inquisition.

To root out Protestantism, Philip II spurred on the *Inquisition* to greater activity renewing his father's Edict of 1550, and thousands miserably perished in the hands of the executioners or were imprisoned in the name of justice and religion.

2. Establishment of an anti-national government.

He next established an anti-national government in 1559 with Margaret, the Duchess of Parma, his half-sister, as governor assisted by a secret council of foreigners, the *Consulta*, presided over by Cardinal Granvella, a bigoted Catholic and persecutor, thus ignoring the great nobles of the land who held places of trust and position in the state.

3. Creation of new bishoprics.

Philip further sought to confiscate church property for the maintenance of fifteen bishopics and three arch-bishoprics, newly created by a Papal bull, thus offending both the Protestants and the Catholics. The nobles led by **Prince William of Orange**, Count Egmont, and Admiral Horn demanded the dismissal of Granvella, and, though Philip recalled him, the policy of government remained unchanged.

4. Rigidity of persecution enforced by the *Segovia Despatch*.

Egmont, as a representative of the discontented nobles went to Madrid and warned the king against his policy of persecution, but Philip, deaf to all warnings, sent to Margaret a despatch from Segovia in-

sisting on a rigid execution of the edicts against heresy (1565).

Beginning of the Struggle :

The Segovia Despatch infuriated the nobles who formed a league and drew up a document, the *Compromise*, for the purpose of securing the abolition of the Inquisition which operated "to the great dishonour of the name of God and to the total ruin of the Netherlands". The members of the league then petitioned the Regent for the redress of their grievances, but the petition was unceremoniously rejected as one coming from the *'Beggars'*. Gradually the spirit of resistance spread from the nobles to the people who, stirred up by the Calvinistic preachers, sacked the Cathedral of Antwerp and destroyed the images, paintings and ornaments of the churches everywhere (1566). Philip, blind with rage, recalled Margaret finding her incompetent to cope with the situation, and despatched the **Duke of Alva**, one of his best generals and a bigoted Roman Catholic, with an well-equipped army, as the governor of the Netherlands (1567). Finding resistance hopeless, William of Orange fled to Germany where he busied himself with plans for the liberation of his country.

Formation of the national league-Compromise'.

Iconoclastic riots.

Duke of Alva as governor.

Alva now began his military oppression in the Netherlands. He set up the *'Council of Blood'* for the summary trial and punishment of those who had taken part in the late disturbances. Thousands perished on the scaffold, thousands fled from the country. Egmont and Horn were executed as if to warn the discontented nobles. William of Orange now, expecting a rising from within, invaded the Netherlands with an army he had collected, but

Iron rule of Alva, and the opposition of William of Orange.

was completely defeated by Alva at *Jemmingen* (1568). Alva next took *Haarlem* and put fifteen thousand to the sword. Encouraged with success, Alva ventured to impose an oppressive tax of ten per cent, called the *Tenth Penny*, on every commercial transaction to meet the needs of his treasury, thereby threatening the country with economic ruin. The indignation of the merchants rose to its highest pitch, and they closed their shops and suspended business. The taxes were postponed for a time but they were to be collected in 1572.

Imposition of the '*Tenth Penny*'.

At this juncture, the "*Sea-Beggars*", a small band of hardy Dutchmen, half-patriots and half-pirates, who had been driven from the country by the action of Alva, led by their Captain De la Marck, suddenly captured the little town of *Brill* (1572) which electrified the whole country and changed the aspect of the struggle. Town after town now rose in arms, and specially the provinces of Holland and Zealand drove out their Spanish garrisons and summoned William of Orange, better known as **William the Silent**, to take their government as their Stadtholder or governor. The real war of independence of the Netherlands thus begun, and William led the country to resist the foreigners to the utmost. Alva's rule thus ended in failure and he got himself recalled (1573).

Seizure of Brill by the '*Sea-beggars* and the beginning of the War of Dutch Independence.

Recall of Alva.

The Siege and Relief of Leyden :

Requesens, who succeeded Alva as governor of the Netherlands, abolished the *Council of Blood* and proclaimed a general amnesty. But as people had lost all confidence in Spanish rule and the revolted provinces refused to submit, Requesens had no other alternative than to use force. He now laid siege to the famous city of

Administration of Requesens.

Leyden (1574) which held out for seven months. William then ordered to cut open the dykes and thereby enabled the *"Sea-beggars"* to reach the town in their ships and relieve the situation. To commemorate this heroic defence, the University of Leyden was subsequently founded at William's suggestion. The policy of military subjugation of the country adopted by Requesens thus failed, and, before he could adopt any other, he died (1576).

Heroic defence of Leyden, 1574.

The Pacification of Ghent :

The sudden death of Requesens indirectly caused a further extension of the revolt in the Netherlands. Before the arrival of a new governor from Spain, the Spanish troops, whose pay was much in arrears, broke out into mutiny and plundered what cities they could and brutally sacked the rich metropolis of *Antwerp*. Enraged at this *'Spanish Fury'*, both the northern and the southern states of the Netherlands became bound together for the first time in common resistance to Spain, though the people of the north were Protestant and spoke a German dialect while the southerners clung to Catholicism and talked French or some form of it. By the *Pacification of Ghent* (1576), negotiated by William, all the seventeen provinces agreed to expel the Spaniards in order to establish a common national government, as also to exercise a spirit of forbearance in matters of religion. It was thus an alliance of two Protestant and sixteen Catholic provinces of the Netherlands under Protestant leadership, and a 'national union' in its true sense.

The *'Spanish Fury'* leading to union of the northern and southern provinces, by the Pacification of Ghent.

The Union of Utrecht :

Don John of Austria, half-brother of Philip II, who came as governor (1576), after the death

Rule of Don John of Austria.

of Requesens, at first issued the *Perpetual Edict* confirming the Pacification of Ghent and promised the immediate removal of Spanish troops. But, hampered by Philip's commands, he soon broke his promises and defeated the rebels at *Gemblours* (1578). He died shortly, after, and was succeeded by **Alexander Farnese**, the Prince of Parma, another distinguished general and an excellent diplomat. Taking advantage of the distrust of the nobles of the southern provinces towards William as also the antipathy of the Catholic south towards the intolerant Calvinistic north, Farnese easily won over the southern or the Belgiac provinces to Spain promising to restore their national political institutions and by flattering their Catholic prejudices. Finding it hopeless to maintain the Pacification of Ghent any further, William of Orange was compelled to fall back upon the support of the northern and Protestant states only. He combined these seven northern provinces in a loose federal government by the *Union of Utrecht* (1579) and thus *laid the foundation of the Dutch republic*. Two years later, the union publicly proclaimed its separation form Spain.

Southern provinces won over by Prince Alexander of Parma.

William united the northern provinces by the Union of Utrecht.

The Declaration of Independence :

Finding William the Silent to be the backbone of the resistance, Philip II now resolved to put an end to his life and published his notorious *'Ban'* (1580) condemning him "as an enemy of human race" and offering substantial reward for his assassination. Prince William responded in his famous *'Apology'* denying to Philip the title of king of the Netherlands which, he said, Philip, had forfeited by his violation of the most sacred obligations to his people whom he had mercilessly oppressed and

The *'Ban'* and the *'Apology'*.

massacred and as such "the estates of the land may legally renounce him and put another in his place." William now eagerly sought for foreign assistance, and in 1581 the separation of the United Netherlands from Spain was publicly announced in the memorable *'Declaration of Independence'* Francis, Duke of Anjou, brother of the French king, consented to become the ally and protector of the states and the sovereignty of the provinces, except Holland and Zealand, were given to him ; but his high-handed actions, and the brutal massacre of the inhabitants of Antwerp by his troops (better known as the *'French Fury'*) compelled him to withdraw to France (1583). The northern or the Dutch provinces now drew up an independent constitution under William and declared their union as a republic.

Declaration of Independence by the Dutch 1581.

The Duke of Anjou and the *'French Fury.'*

Final Struggle for the Dutch Republic

The reward offered by Philip for the life of William had induced many assasins to attempt for it, and at last Balthasar Gerard, a Roman Catholic enthusiast from Burgundy, fatally shot William at Delft in 1584. Thus died a man who was "as long as he lived, the guiding star of a whole brave nation". His patience, courage and diplomatic skill and his single-minded devotion to his country's cause made him the first statesman of his age. A Catholic by birth, he had adopted Protestantism from political motives and was the first of the European statesmen to try to found a state upon religious toleration. He had a genuine love for his country, and his heroic self-sacrifice earned for him love of all classes of people who called him 'Father William'. "Modern Holland owes to him her

Assassination of William of Orange—his character.

existence". With his death it seemed as if the cause of the Netherlands would be ruined.

The great Spanish soldier, the Duke of Parma, now easily reduced the southern provinces which became the Spanish Netherlands, and conquered almost all the northern provinces except Holland and Zealand which held out for **Prince Maurice,** son of William. Though young in age, Maurice was elected Stadtholder after his father's death and continued the struggle with Spain. He soon drew the sympathy of the English queen, Elizabeth, who sent over Earl of Leicester with a small army, though it proved incompetent, but a change in the European situation profited him largely. The destruction of the *'Invincible Armada'* of Philip by the English queen (1588) shook the prestige of Spain considerably, and the accession in France of Henry of Navarre, hitherto a Protestant and always a bitter enemy of Spain, diverted the attention of Philip from taking vigourous actions against Maurice. Parma was sent to conduct the campaigns in France in course of which he died of a wound (1592). In 1597, however, the Dutch army defeated the Spanish in a open fight at *Turnhout,* and next year Philip died.

Continuance of the struggle by Prince Maurice of Nassu.

Death of Philip II, 1598.

Still the war continued under Philip III, son and successor of Philip II, and the brave Dutch and English sailors swept home and foreign waters clear of Spanish ships. At last Philip III concluded a twelve years' truce (1609) which was really the end of the Dutch War of Independence. Spain however did not formally recognise the independence of the new Dutch Republic until forty years after, when Peace of Westphalia was concluded (1648) in connection

Failure of Philip III, and the Twelve Years' Truce, 1609.

with the Thirty Years' War in Europe. (*Vide Bk. I., Ch. VII.*)

Constitution of the Dutch Republic :

The new republic was a confederation of seven northern provinces and each province was a confederation of towns. A burgher aristocracy monopolised the political power of the towns, and the town councils were either co-opted or elected by small bodies. The disruptive tendencies of such a constitution were counterbalanced by the federal institutions established by the Union of Utrecht, *viz.*, the States-general which exercised legislative authority, and the Council of State, which exercised executive authority. The Stadtholder presided over the Council and was elected generally from the House of Orange, but he was in no sense a king. The powers of the federal institutions were however extremely limited and were jealously watched by the local governments.

Confederation of the northern provinces with federal institutions.

Effects of the War on the Dutch Republic :

The nation gained in strength and energy during the desperate war of independence, which contributed largely towards the commercial and intellectual progress of the country. The rebel provinces, particularly Holland and Zealand, increased rapidly in population, and the Dutch cities became the workshops and warehouses of the world. The Dutch became a great maritime power, and began to trade extensively with Asia, Africa, and America and soon monopolised the trading-posts in the East Indies. They made their universities seats of original learning and thinking, and special contributions were made by their scholars in the natural and mechanical sciences, specially in the

1. Strengthening of the nation.

2. Increase in population.

3. Commercial prosperity.

4. Intellectual advancement.

departments of Hydrostatics and Hydraulics. They gave a new and original impulse to the art of painting which were in no way inferior to those of the Italian schools of the Renaissance period. Their country became the home of the persecuted scholars and the nursery for the English Puritans who fought for English freedom in the seventeenth century.

5. Championship for political freedom.

Decay of the Belgiac Provinces :

The Catholic provinces of the south became the Spanish Netherlands under Alexander of Parma. The Belgians, being deprived of their political power and sapped of their energy and vitality, soon lost their material prosperity. In 1595, the Belgiac provinces passed under the Austrian House of Hapsburg, when Philip II gave them as a dowry to his daughter Isabella on her marriage with Archduke Albert of Austria.

Material decline of the country.

Decline of Spain :

The weakness of Spain had begun from the reign of Philip III and from the time of his successor, Philip IV, the political, social, and material decline of the country went on rapidly. The weak reign of Charles II, successor of Philip IV, witnessed the Spanish territory being reduced to a narrower limit by France, and Portugal becoming separate and independent by the *Treaty of Lisbon* (1668). *With him the rule of the Hapsburgs in Spain ended.* Thus at the close of the seventeenth century, Spain sank into a second-rate power in Europe, yielding the first place to France, and her commercial monopolies in the West Indies were altogether destroyed by the English and the Dutch. The reasons for this decline of Spain may chiefly be

Beginning of weakness of Spain.

Separation of Portugal.

attributed, firstly, to the *false imperial policy* which she pursued in Europe and which involved her in endless and fruitless wars, and secondly, to her *political despotism* and *religious intolerance*.

Causes of the decline of Spanish power.

CHAPTER VI.

The Religious Wars in France.

I.

Origin of the French Reformation :

'In its inception,' the Reformation in France was *'a national spontaneous movement.'* Awakened by the spirit of the Renaissance and coming into contact with other countries as a consequence of the Italian wars, a small group of Humanists like Lefebre and others began to criticise the established faith, even before Luther posted his 'Ninety-five Theses' at Wittenburg. The movement started by Luther in Germany gave a fresh impetus to these French Reformers, who also began to attack the abuses in the church, which were as prevalent in France as in other countries

Beginning of the movement.

Francis I, (1515-47) who made religion subservient to politics, needed the help of the Pope in his ambitious struggle with Emperor Charles (*Vide Bk. I. Ch. II.*), and in order to maintain a national unity in France at that time began to oppose the Reformers. At the instigation of the *Sorbonne,* the Roman Catholic seminary of Paris, he issued a series of heartless edicts against heresy, and from 1523 execution of heretics went on. In 1545 the Vaudois or Waldenses of Provence were exterminated by Francis for their Protestant faith, and his policy of persecution of the heretics was carried on vigorously even after his death. His son and successor, **Henry II** (1547-59), created a special department of the Parlément, known

Attitude of Francis I and Henry II towards the movement.

as the *'Burning Chamber'*, issued edicts after edicts against heresy, and put many adherents of the Reformed faith to death.

The number of the Protestants in France increased so rapidly in spite of these persecutions, that in 1555 organisation into churches began on the Calvinistic model, and the name *Huguenot*, imported from Geneva, was applied to these Reformers probably in derision, the term *'Hugues'* being used locally to denote a hobgoblin.

Rapid progress of Calvinism.

The Huguenots.

Political Character of the French Reformation :

After the conclusion of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis with Philip II of Spain in 1559 (*vide Bk. I. Ch. V.*), when the bigoted king Henry II of France was thinking of adopting further repressive measures against the Huguenots, he was killed by a chance blow in a festive tournament in Paris, and the situation was completely changed. **Francis II,** who succeeded him (1559-60), was a boy of sixteen, too young and too feeble in body to assume the task of administration. His mother, **Catharine de Medici,** so long neglected by her husband; now seized this opportunity of acquiring power and ruling the country through her son. Quite destitute of religious convictions, she sought to rule by setting one religious party as a counterpoise to the other. She was the *'Machiavellian Eve'* of Europe in the sixteenth century, and no crime, however heinous, she feared to commit in order to gain her ends. Even she encouraged her royal sons to indulge in vicious courses of life to make them more dependent. But before she could establish her influence, Francis fell altogether in the hands

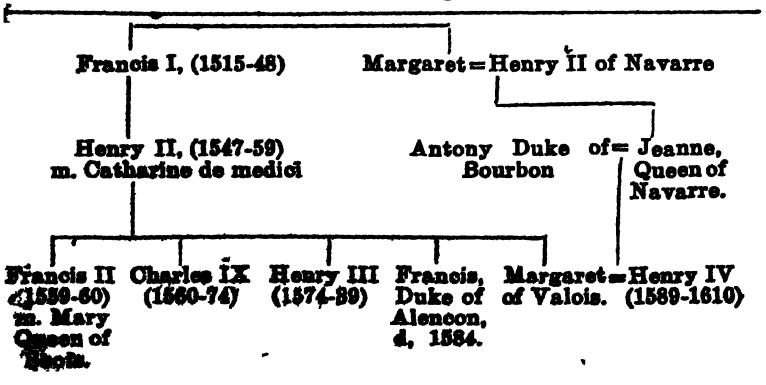
Francis II, a puppet in the hands of Catharine de Medici.

of his wife Mary Queen of Scots' two uncles, the **Guises**—Francis Duke of Guise, the conqueror of Calais, and Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine. Cardinal of Lorraine controlled the government, and Duke of Guise controlled the army. Being firm supporters of Catholicism, the Guises, in close connection with Philip II of Spain and the Pope began to persecute the Huguenots vigourously. The nobles, hated them as foreigners, and assembled under the **Bourbons**, a collateral branch of the royal family, Antony of Navarre and Louis Prince of Condé, (who had a better claim to direct the policy of the kingdom than the Guises as the nearest male heirs to the throne after Henry II's children*) to offer resistance to the crown and to support the cause of the Huguenots. Encouraged by Louis of Condé a conspiracy was made at Amboise (1560) to seize the person of the king, but it leaked out. So the Guises, in fear, relaxed their policy of persecution by an edict, which while forbidding public worship to the Huguenots gave them liberty of conscience. *Henceforward the Reform movement in France assumed a political character.* The

Reactionary policy of the Guises towards the Huguenots.

The Bourbons supporting the Huguenots.

Conspiracy of Amboise leading to moderation of the Guises.



Guises, however, still tried their best to retain their power, but their plans were frustrated by the sudden death of Francis.

Outbreak of the Wars of Religion :

Causes of the Wars :

The short reign of Francis II was full of religious strife between the Huguenots and the Catholics. Moreover the factious quarrels of the nobles, *viz.*, the Guises and the Bourbons, for power, the intrigues of the Queen-mother Catharine de Medici, the weakness of the king, and the general discontent of the people due to oppressive and irrational system of taxation pointed clearly to a civil war. **Charles IX,** (1560-74), who succeeded Francis, was a boy of ten, and his mother Catharine became the Regent. Thus realising her dream of power Catharine now adopted a policy of balance between the two hostile factions of the Bourbons who supported the Huguenots and the Guises who supported the Catholics and both of whom alike watched her with jealousy. A policy of toleration was adopted and Chancellor L'Hopital issued upon the royal authority an edict whereby the Huguenots were allowed to worship within certain restrictions. But this policy of compromise failed to satisfy the two religious parties, and sharp conflicts occurred between them from time to time ending in terrible excesses.

Weak reign of Francis II leading to factious quarrels of the nobles and popular discontent.

Failure of Catharine de Medici's policy of compromise.

The bitter hatred of the Catholics against the Protestants at last lit the flames of the civil war in France, when in March 1562, the Duke of Guise, while passing through the little town of Vassy with a body of troops, wantonly massacred a group of Huguenots while holding their religious service. This lawless *Massacre*

Massacre of Vassy by the Duke of Guise leading to outbreak of the war.

of Vassy led the Huguenots to take up arms under Louis of Condé, and they received assistance from the German Protestant princes and the Protestant Queen Elizabeth of England. The Catholics also united in a league under Constable Montmorency and the Duke of Guise to suppress the Huguenots, and they got support from Spain, the Catholic cantons of Switzerland and the Pope. The wars of religion thus broke out in France (1562).

Character of the Wars:

Religious differences aggravated by selfish struggles of the nobles for political power.

These wars, which lasted from 1562 to 1598 with occasional suspensions, plunged France into terrible disaster, and for more than thirty years she enjoyed no settled peace. Religious and political causes being combined, the parties in the war displayed a ferocity of disposition more befitting pagans than Christians, and the prestige of France in Europe sank to a low ebb. The rival princely houses took advantage of the religious situation in the country to further their political interests and personal ambitions, and, as such, *these wars though religious in origin assumed the character of civil wars*, and were waged with inhuman barbarity and atrocious crimes. There was a complete absence of chivalry and patriotism, and the Protestants and Catholics vied with each other in their efforts to devastate the country. "In its social consequences, the struggle was one of the worst that Europe has known."

Periods of the Wars of Religion (1562-98):

The First War:

1562-63.

Antony of Navarre, who had turned an apostate and joined the Catholic party, was killed

at the *Siege of Rouen*, and an indecisive battle was fought at *Druex* (1562). The assassination of the Duke of Guise ended the first war, and the *Peace of Amboise* granted toleration to the reformed religion in those places where it was established before the war (1563).

Peace of Amboise.

The Second War:

1567-68:

The Huguenots, who had no faith in the Queen-mother's moderation as she lent her ears to Spanish dictation, became frightened at Alva's cruel policy in the Netherlands. They formed a conspiracy at Meaux in 1567 to carry off the king, which led to the second war. Montmorency was killed at the indecisive battle of *St. Denis* (1567). The *Treaty of Longjumeau* concluded the war, confirming the treaty of Amboise (1568).

Treaty of Longjumeau.

The Third War:

1568-70:

Catharine, finding that continued toleration would be fatal to royal power, published an edict prohibiting public worship of the Huguenots and ordering their preachers to leave France within a fortnight. The third war broke out, and Condé was killed at *Jarnac*, and Coligny who succeeded him as general was defeated at *Moncontour* (1569). The *Treaty of St. Germain* (1570) ended the war, securing toleration to the Huguenots and four fortified towns as places of refuge, of which La Rochelle became their headquarters and enabled them to keep connections with England and the Netherlands. It was one of the best of the many peaces concluded during the whole course of the war and gave the Protestants a position within the state.

Treaty of St. Germain.

The Fourth War:

1572-73: Charles IX now changed his policy, made negotiations with England and the Netherlands, broke up connections with Spain, proposed the marriage of his younger brother Henry of Anjou with Elizabeth, invited **Coligny**, another champion of the Huguenots who belonged to the noble family of the Chatillons and was the leader of a new moderate party willing to make the Peace of St. Germain the basis of a definite settlement, into court and betrothed his sister Margaret of Valois to Henry of Navarre, (afterwards, Henry IV of France), son of Antony of Navarre—the head of the House of Bourbon and leader of the Huguenots. All this meant conciliating the Huguenots. Such a reversal of the royal policy led Catharine and Henry of Anjou to force impulsive Charles IX to order the *Massacre of St. Bartholomew* (Aug. 24, 1572). The Huguenots had gathered in Paris to celebrate the marriage of Henry of Navarre and they were massacred by the Catholic Parisian mob instigated by Catharine and the Guise, Cardinal Lorraine. Coligny and about 10,000 Huguenots were brutally murdered in Paris and other places. The deed was condemned generally throughout Protestant Europe, though the Roman world with the Pope and Philip of Spain could not conceal its delight. The Huguenots took up arms and began to resist at *La Rochélle* (1572). Peace was at last made with the Huguenots by the Edict of July, 1573, granting them liberty of conscience and liberty of worship in three towns including La Rochélle.

Changed attitude of the French court.

Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572.

The Fifth War:

1574-76: Charles IX died (1574) and was succeeded by his brother **Henry III** (1574-89) who also,

influenced by his mother Catharine, adopted the policy of persecution. The war was renewed. Meanwhile a new party, called the **Politiques**, grew up who placed the well-being of the country before the triumph of their particular religious opinions and insisted that the government should be based upon toleration. A number of Roman Catholics joined with the Huguenots in this party which became very prominent when Henry of Navarre accepted its leadership. It was able to secure the Huguenots, by the *Peace of Monsieur* (1576), free exercise of their religion everywhere except in Paris.

Peace of Monsieur.

***The Sixth War*:**

The States-general which was summoned at Blois at the demand of the allies, was strongly opposed to the Huguenots who armed again. The king issued the *Edict of Poitiers* (1577), granting protestant worship in all places where it was exercised on the day of the treaty, one town in each district and nine fortified places of refuge to the Huguenots, and permission to appoint four judges, out of twelve, from the Protestants in the Parléments of France.

Edict of Poitiers, 1577.

***The Seventh War*:**

1579-80:

The terms of the former peace not being properly carried out, sporadic outbreaks took place. A conference of the two parties was held at Nerac which explained and confirmed the provisions of the edict (1579). The Catholics however did not rest satisfied and war broke out with the *siege of Cahors* by Henry of Navarre (1580); several desultory skirmishes took place both in the south and the north. *Peace of Fleix* terminated the war on the same terms as agreed

Peace of Felix.

at Nerac. The religious struggle seemed likely to close and France enjoyed peace for five years.

The Eighth War, or the War of the three Henries :

Circumstances leading to War of the Three Henries:

In 1584 Francis of Anjou-Alencon, the king's brother, died, and Henry III being childless, **Henry of Navarre** was the only surviving male member of the House of Valois. Thus there was the chance of a Huguenot succession to the throne of France. Moreover, a peaceful settlement of religious discords in France by the Edict of Poitiers was against the ambitious policy of Philip II of Spain. At the instigation of Spain, the *Catholic League* was formed in 1584 under **Henry Duke of Guise,** to defend Roman Catholicism in France and to proclaim Henry of Navarre's uncle, the Cardinal of Bourbon, a Catholic, as heir to the throne. Under pressure from the league, **Henry III** withdrew the toleration, and the war broke out, Henry of Navarre, Henry of Guise, and King Henry III being the heads of the three parties in the war.

Catholic League to prevent succession of Protestant Henry of Navarre.

The Huguenots under Henry of Navarre won the *battle of Coutras* (1587). The Duke of Guise defeated the German troops who were assisting the Huguenots and his popularity increased immensely in Paris, the stronghold of Catholicism. Henry III could not prevent the Duke of Guise from entering Paris, and finding himself powerless at his capital fled from Paris. Indignantly resolved to put an end to his humiliation, King Henry invited the Duke of Guise to a conference in the royal cabinet, and had him treacherously assassinated (1588). This led to a revolt in Paris and establishment of provisional government there and in many other

Catholic supremacy of Duke of Guise and his assassination.

large towns. Henry III now allied with Henry of Navarre to lay siege to Paris, but was stabbed by a monk. *The House of Valois now came to an end.* Assassination of Henry III.

Henry of Navarre continued the war to gain the throne, won a notable victory at *Ivry* (1590), but finding that the league, supported by Spain, could not be scattered, put an end to the quarrel by abjuring his faith and formally adopting Catholicism to the great joy of the Catholic party (1593). Thus having no opposition, he was solemnly crowned king as **Henry IV** (1594), and *the Bourbon dynasty was established in France.* Conversion of Henry of Navarre and close of the civil wars.

The Edict of Nantes (1598):

The conversion of Henry IV was purely a *political* measure, because thus he won the attachment of the Catholic majority, and while still enjoying the love and confidence of the Protestants he issued the *Edict of Nantes* (1598) which granted the Huguenots liberty of worship in certain specified places as in 1577, allowed them admission in the universities and in the service of the state, guaranteed them justice by the formation of special courts with Protestant judges, and a number of fortified towns including La Rochelle were made over to their control as a guarantee that the terms of the Edict would be kept. Thus the Catholics and the Protestants were placed on the same footing for all practical purposes, though the Catholic church continued to be the state-church in France and retained its revenues. The importance of the Edict lies in the fact that though it went beyond the general feeling of the age, *"it was the first formal, though qualified, recognition, by a great Euro-* Henry IV issued the edict, 1598.

Effects and importance of the edict.

pean state, of the principle of religious toleration and equality."

Government of Henry IV (1594-1610):

Conclusion of the war with Spain.

Securing peace at home, Henry IV secured peace abroad by concluding the war with Philip II of Spain, waged in 1595 for supporting the Catholic league, by the *Peace of Vervins* (1598) which confirmed the former treaty of Cateau-Cambresis and all conquests by Spain were restored.

Financial difficulties of Henry.

Henry was now confronted with new difficulties. Financial reform was urgent, as the state of the finances had become deplorable since the death of Francis I. Corruption prevailed in the offices; money was raised by reckless ways; tax-payers had been reduced by the sale of the patents of nobility; the public debt had become heavy, the expenditure being ten times the revenue. So Henry appointed his friend the **Duke of Sully**, a man of strict honesty and great force of character as his Finance minister. The reforms of Sully resorted the national finances. He abolished many sinecure offices, made seats in the Parlément, which up till now could be purchased, hereditary on the annual payment of a tax called the *Paulette*, revoked the patents of nobility, improved the system of revenue-collection, reduced the expenditure of the state and enforced economy in every department, recovered crown-lands from private persons, and revived and greatly developed agriculture. Henry himself did his best to encourage manufacture and commerce by establishing ports, introducing silk-manufacture and sending out discoverers for colonising in America. Moreover Henry built innumerable churches, fine palaces, bridges,

Financial reforms of Sully.

Other reforms of Henry.

convents, hospitals, fortresses, etc. All these measures revived the national prosperity in France which had sunk to a low ebb and paved the way for the centralisation of the monarchy.

Henry's domestic and foreign policy.

The States-General was not called, as Henry saw it closely associated with resistance to the crown in the interest of the aristocracy and Catholicism, and, if necessary to secure the support of public opinion, he preferred to ask the advice of a body of 'Notables' chosen by himself. His foreign policy was to establish the supremacy of France at the expense of Spanish and Austrian Houses of Hapsburgs, as he realised that France could not expand before Spain and Austria were humbled. Taking advantage of a local quarrel regarding the principality of Juliers in Germany, Henry was preparing to interfere on behalf of the Protestants against the Catholic Houses of Hapsburgs when he was assassinated by Ravaillac, a Jesuit fanatic (1610): The spirit, of his policy, both home and foreign, being adopted by the Great Cardinals, Richelieu and Mazarin, after his death prepared for the future greatness of France; and hence it is said, *"But for the government of Henry IV, there could have been no Age of Louis XIV."*

Death of Henry, 1610.

Henry's character.

He was an affable gentleman, a brave soldier, an able politician, and an intelligent ruler. His paternal solicitude for his humblest subjects is to be noticed from his oft-quoted saying, "If I live, the poorest peasant shall have a fowl to put in his pot on Sundays." In spite of his many virtues, he was wanting in fixed principles and was a through-going seeker of sensual pleasures.

Though the government of Henry IV con-

Character of Henry's government.

tributed distinctly to the material progress of France, critics point out that he did not effort to train his subjects in constitutional government and left France the fatal legacy of over-centralisation which being perfected by Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin led ultimately to the French Revolution of 1789. But the French people, just emerging from a chronic civil war, were not fit for the political experiment in the art of self-government, and hence the new monarchy under Henry IV could not but be absolute.

Reformation completed under Richelieu :

The Edict of Nantes had secured not only toleration for the Huguenots but also some amount of political power, giving them some fortified towns. They thus became a *'state within a state,'* and gave much trouble to the government of Louis XIII. The re-establishment of Catholicism in Bearn by royal authority in 1629, alarmed the Huguenots who armed themselves at La Rochélle, and revolted. They were however suppressed and compelled to accept the *Treaty of Montpellier* (1623), which confirmed the Edict of Nantes and robbed their fortified towns except La Rochélle and Montauban. In 1625, another revolt under Soubise and Rohan was put down. The Huguenots again revolted in 1627 ; the English failed to aid the rebels effectually, and Richelieu compelled La Rochélle, the last stronghold, to be surrendered (1628), *thus giving a death-blow to Protestantism as a political force in France,* though the true principles of toleration as secured by Edict of Nantes were not interfered with. Thus Protestantism as a religion was established in France and it was further se-

Successive revolts of the Huguenots :

Siege and capture of La Rochélle —Political power of the Huguenots broken.

cured by the *Peace of Westphalia* (1648) which concluded the Thirty Years' War and secured all Reformed faiths in the European countries.

CHAPTER VII.

The Thirty Years' War in Germany.

Europe on the eve of the 'Thirty Years' War:

Effect of the Counter-Reformation in the European countries.

Through the influence of the Counter-Reformation, the South (Italy, Spain, and Portugal) remained wholly Catholic; France too remained so, though a few Huguenots secured toleration by the Edict of Nantes, and the Belgians separated from the Protestant Dutch returned to the rule of Catholic Spain. But the Catholic reaction failed in England and Sweden before the forces of the Protestant movement. In Germany the same struggle between the Protestant movement and Catholic reaction was going on before it gave rise to the devastating war, the Thirty Years' War, which settled all religious disputes and drew a permanent line of demarcation between Protestant Europe and Catholic Europe.

Continuance of the religious war in Germany.

Progress of Protestantism in Germany, and the Catholic Reaction:

The articles of the Religious Peace of Augusburg (*Vide Bk. I. Ch. III.*) were defective in character. They had authorised the secular princes to fix the religion of their subjects, and thus a great bitterness of feeling was created between the different religious bodies. The validity of the clause known as the *'Ecclesiastical Reservation'* was not admitted by the Lutherans, who evading it got many of the Catholic bishoprics in North Germany into Pro-

Further, progress of Protestantism in Germany not stopped.

testant hands, and this was bitterly opposed by the Catholics. The expectations of the Catholics to stay the further progress of Protestantism were thus frustrated, and the number of the Protestants went on increasing so rapidly that nine-tenths of the population of the Empire were at this time Protestant. Charles V's successor, Ferdinand I, took no steps to repress reform, and his son Maximilian II followed a policy of enlightened toleration. Moreover, shortly after the Peace of Augsburg, Calvinism spread through the south and west of Germany, though the articles of the treaty gave toleration to the Lutherans only.

Advance of Protestantism under Ferdinand I (1556-64), and Maximilian II (1564-76)

Catholics roused themselves from the lethargy into which they had fallen and gathering their forces under the leadership of the Jesuits, boldly undertook to reconquer Germany. These Jesuits, being admitted into Germany by Ferdinand I, by every means in their power, by preaching, by educating, by intriguing, by persuasion, by force or fraud, roused the Catholic princes to adopt a more active policy in their dominions. Bavaria, where Protestantism was put down by Albert III, became the centre of the Catholic reaction. Emperor Rudolf II, the successor of Maimilian II, identified himself wholly with Catholicism by expelling the Protestant preachers from Vienna. This Catholic reaction was further facilitated by the disunion among the Protestants themselves who became divided into two hostile camps *viz.* the Lutherans protected by the Duke of Saxony, and the Calvinists by the Elector Palatine.

Influence of the Jesuits and the beginning of the Catholic reaction.

Religious policy of Rudolf II (1576-1612)

Protestant disunion and the progress of the reaction.

The Protestant Union, and the Catholic League:

The Catholics in 1582 refused to admit

Disputes between the Protestants and the Catholics.

Joachim, the Protestant Bishop of Magdeburg, into the Diet. A similar attempt was made by them to exclude the deputies of Aáchen, a Catholic city converted to Protestantism, but it proved unsuccessful. Archbishop Truchsess of Cológne, being married and having adopted Calvinism, was easily driven out of his see by the Catholics, as he received no support from the Lutherans. The Catholics, now having a majority in the Imperial Chamber, began to decide all legal disputes against the Protestants.

The Aulic council and its high-handedness.

The ancient *Aulic Council*, a mere private court of the Emperor, was revived and strengthened The Protestant free city of Donauworth was placed under the imperial ban by the Aulic Council at the instance of Rudolf II and was annexed by Bavaria. All Protestant Germany was alarmed, and in 1608 a confederation was formed among the Protestant states, called the

The formation of the Union and the League.

'Protestant Union,' under the presidency of Elector Palatine Frederick at the instance of his able minister Christian of Anhált. The league enlisted the sympathies of England, Holland, and of Henry IV of France. In opposition to the Union, the Catholics too formed a league of their own, called the *Catholic League*, at Munich under the leadership of Maximilian of Bavaria (1609). All Germany thus became prepared to burst into a fresh religious war.

The Thirty Years' War, (1618-48):

Its Causes:

Real causes of the war: (*a*) Religious;

The *real cause* of the war was, of course, the religious disturbances in Germany due to the Catholic reaction after the Peace of Augsburg and the Protestant dissensions leading to the formation of the two defensive leagues, the

Protestant Union and the *Catholic League*; but along with them political and economical causes also largely contributed to its origin. The Imperial constitution had become weak and inefficient, and the territorial princes grew powerful enough to undertake all sorts of ambitious projects. "The awe inspired by the political greatness of Charles V, the respect secured by Ferdinand I's subordination of his own wishes to the interests of the Empire, the good will which could hardly be refused to Maximilian II's kindly latitudinarianism—had come to be forgotten in the hopelessness of a rule so important and so perverse as that of Rudolf II." With the rise of the princes and religious differences among the people, the German unity was jeopardised. Moreover, the economical condition of the country was hopelessly bad. The productive power of the country generally decreased, and this altogether with the debasement of coins brought the country almost on the verge of bankruptcy. Prices of articles rose and it pressed hard enough upon the purses of the poor people, while the middle and higher classes lived a life of intemperance and vice. Trade, both home and foreign, was doomed, and national industry was ruined. This economic distress and the consequent social disquietude became so great that people seriously looked forward to a revolution that would put an end to their miseries.

(b) Political;

(c) Economical.

But there could be no doubt of the fact, that whether through religious differences, political weakness, or economic distress, Germany was already in a nascent state of war. It was precipitated into mortal struggles by—

Immediate causes of the war:

(a) *Dissensions in the Austrian family:*

Rivalry between Emperor Rudolf II and Matthias.

After the death of Maximilian II, the Imperial Crown as well as his hereditary dominions—Austria, Hungary and Bohemia—passed to his eldest son, Rudolf II. Rudolf's attempts to put down the Protestast doctrines, and political privileges of his subjects in the hereditary dominions, led to revolts. Under these circumstances, other members of the royal family compelled Rudolf to cede Austria and Hungary to Matthias, his brother, who had to make many concessions. Taking advantage of Rudolf's difficulties, the Bohemians, who were Protestants, extorted from him the *'Letter of Majesty'* (1609) which gave them liberty of conscience. But when Rudolf tried to evade the terms, the Bohemians declared Matthias as their king (1611). Shortly after Rudolf died and Matthias himself became Emperor (1612). Matthias. now, sought to evade the concessions already granted to the Protestants, and the result was that the Emperor's authority was wholly disregarded both in Austria and Bohemia. At the Diet at Ratisbon (1613), the Emperor's demand of aid against the threatened Turkish invasion was refused unless the religious disputes were settled, and the Diet was dissolved There was a practical collapse of all orderly constitutional arrangements.

Accession of Matthias, (1612-19) and his quarrel with the Bohemian Assembly.

(*c*) *Election of Ferdinand II to the Bohemian throne:* Matthias being old and childless his cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, a zealous Roman Catholic was nominated heir to the throne. Bohemia which was anti-Catholic, refused to recognise Ferdinand, but was forced to acknowledge him simultaneously by promises and threats (1617). Ferdinand however began to suppress Protestantism disregarding the *'Letter of Majesty'* and demolished Protestant churches.

Bohemia forced to acknowledge Ferdinand who adopted violent anti-Protestant policy.

A riot broke out in Prague (1618) where the royal officers were thrown out of the castle window and a provisional government was set up by the people who offered the crown to Frederick, Elector of Palatine. With the acceptance of the crown by Frederick, the war began in Bohemia (1618).

Character of the War, and its Periods :

The war was at first a civil war between the Protestant and Catholic princes of Germany. The main question before the war, as it began, was 'the future of Protestantism ' This question was keenly watched by other European states where it was either settled or was in the process of settlement. To this question of European interest were added soon the political ambitions of the neighbouring powers of Germany, degenerating at last into a shameful struggle for power and territory absorbing in it all the local struggles of Europe. Denmark and Sweden joined in the interests of Protestantism as well as for the protection of their possessions in Germany ; France interfered for her national aggrandisement at the expense of the Austrian power. Even the Ottoman empire was interested in its progress. "All the wars that are on foot in Europe" wrote Gustavus Adolphus, the Protestant hero of the war, "have been fused together and have become a single war." The war may, however, be conveniently divided into the following periods :—

The war, at first a civil struggle in Germany, developed into a great European war for power and territory.

Periodical divisions of the war.

I. *The Religious Period of the War, 1618-1634:*

(1) The Bohemain-Palatine Period, 1618-23.

(2) The Danish Period, 1624-30.

(3) The Swedish Period, 1630-34.

II. *The International Period of the War*, or

(4) The French-Swedish Period, 1635-1648.

I. The Religious Period of the War:

During this period the war was conducted only from religious motives, and such nations as the Germans, the Danes and the Swedes took active parts in it.

(1) The Bohemian-Palatine Period, (1618-23):

In this period, the war was confined within Germany (Bohemia and the Palatinate). Emperor Ferdinand II, determined to enforce his authority in Bohemia, sent an army against the Bohemians. But the Bohemians led by Counts Thurn and **Ernest of Mansfeld** drove the imperial troops (1618). The Emperor then applied to Maximilian of Bavaria, the head of the Catholic League for assistance, and an army of the League under **Tilly** entered Bohemia, defeated its new king Frederick at the *White Hill* (1620), and drove him out of the kingdom where Protestantism was ruthlessly suppressed. Frederick was now put under the ban of the Empire and Maximilian was commissioned to occupy his territories. In 1622, Spanish troops under Spinola invaded and conquered the Lower Palatinate, and Maximilan of Bavaria conquered the Upper Palatinate. His hereditary dominions being conquered, Frederick became a fugitive on the Dutch soil, and in 1623 his electoral dignity was forfeited and given to Maximilan of Bavaria. Thus, this period of the war is marked by absolute triumph of Catholicism and the advance of the Austrian House of Hapsburg helped by the Spanish House.

Mansfeld of Bohemia defeated the imperial troops.

Victory of the Catholic League, and Spanish assistance.

Occupation of the Palatinate by the Catholics.

(2) The Danish Period, (1624-30):

Frederick's misfortunes won him the sympathies of the Protestant monarchs of Europe,

specially of James I of England, his father-in-law. In 1624 James declared war against Spain as Spanish troops had conquered the Lower Palatinate. The next year, James furnished **Mansfeld,** the Bohemian adventurer, with money and troops to conquer the Palatinate. But Mansfeld's expedition was a complete failure. So too was an English expedition under Buckingham to the port of Cadiz in Spain. Meanwhile, the Protestants of Germany found a champion of their cause in Christian IV, king of Denmark, who agreed to take up arms against the Emperor, and the English king, Charles I, the successor of James, gave liberal subsidies to him on behalf of Frederick. In 1626, Christian invaded Germany as the chief of the Protestant league. The Catholics came to oppose him with two brilliant armies—one of the Catholic League under **Tilly,** the other under **Wallenstein,** a Bohemian Catholic noble, who raised it at his own cost and maintained it by forced contributions for the Emperor's service. Tilly totally defeated the Danish king at *Lutter*, and Wallenstein defeated the desperate Mansfeld at the bridge of *Dessau* and drove him to Venetian territory where he died. Wallenstein now pushed on his victorious career and all the towns and states of the north-west came under his power. He then overran the Danish territories and laid siege to *Stralsund,* a Danish port on the Baltic sea. (1628). The Danes however, secretly helped by **Gustavus Adolphus,** king of Sweden, compelled Wallenstein to raise the siege. Encouraged by this success, Christian IV again invaded Germany, but he was defeated and compelled to conclude the *Treaty of Lubeck* (1629), by which he got back his lost territories in return for his promise to

English assistance to Elector Frederick and England's war with Spain.

Denmark's part in the war.

Wallenstein raised an imperial army and achieved successive victories :

Failure of Wallenstein through Swedish interference.

Peace of Lubeck, 1629.

abstain from further interference in German affairs. The next year, hampered by his own people, Charles I made peace with Spain. Thus this period is marked by the climax of Catholic success and the climax of imperial power after Charles V.

Temporary Disgrace of Wallenstein:

Reasons for the advance of the imperial power.

Such an advance of the Imperial power was due to the fact that the Emperor had no longer to depend upon the army of the Catholic League as in the first period of the war, as also to the superior ability and generalship of Wallenstein, the commander of the Imperial army. All actions of Wallenstein were prompted by his policy of destroying the independence of the German princes and building up a strong united monarchy under the Emperor, with himself as the power behind the throne. Led by ideas of princely independence, the Catholic Electors opposed the imperial policy of Wallenstein and demanded his dismissal as well as concessions for the Catholic church. Emperor Ferdinand, in order to please them, published the *Edict of Restitution* (1629) by which the Protestants were ordered to return all church properties which had been secularised by them since the Peace of Passau in 1552. But as the edict met with opposition from **Wallenstein**, the Electors threatened to join France, the old enemy of the Hapsburgs. Consequently, the Emperor had to dismiss Wallenstein and to transfer the command of his army to **Tilly** (1630). Thus was the Imperial power once more shadowed by that of the Catholic League, and the great general had to take leave of his army, at a moment, when Germany was threatened by an invasion from Sweden.

Wallenstein's imperial policy and the demand for his dismissal.

Edict of Restitution 1629.

Wallenstein's opposition and his dismissal.

(3) *The Swedish Period, (1630-34)*:

Intervention of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden.

Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden now decided to openly espouse the Protestant cause in Germany. He was a sincere and staunch Protestant and the cry of despair from his co-religionists in Germany moved him much. Moreover he aimed at the control of the Baltic, as he feared any attempt of the Emperor to establish the German maritime supremacy on its shores giving thereby a chance to the Catholic royal house of Poland for contesting the throne of Sweden. Richelieu, the politic minister of Louis XIII of France, equally bent upon giving a blow to the lofty position of the Hapsburgs, concluded an alliance with Gustavus and promised to help him with money. Gustavus now landed, with liberal supplies from France, at Usedom and conquered the Southern Baltic coast (1630). He however being foreigner, the German Protestants hesitated to recognise him as their leader. But when an army under **Tilly,** captured, plundered, and sacked the Protestant city of Magdeburg (1631), they joined with him. Thus strengthened, Gustavus utterly defeated Tilly at *Breitenfeld* (1631). This victory established his military fame and laid all Germany at his feet. Hailed as the hero of Protestant Germany, he now proceeded towards Bavaria, the stronghold of Catholicism. At the *battle of Lech* (1632), Tilly was killed; then Bavaria was conquered. Gustavus next planned to march upon Vienna. The Emperor, in his danger, re-instated **Wallenstein** at the command of the imperial troops (1632). The army of the League left leaderless, also hailed him as their general. Gustavus and Wallenstein met at *Lutzen* (1632) where Gustavus died in the lap of victory.

Success of Gustavus who became the hero of Protestant Germany.

Wallenstein's second command.

Death of Gustavus, 1632.

averting "the overthrow with which Protestantism was threatened in Germany." **Wallenstein** now began to disobey the Emperor's commands and even began to negotiate with the enemy, possibly with the object of ruling in Germany independently; so he was assassinated at the instigation of the Emperor by a band of Scotch and Irish mercenaries (1634). The policy of Gustavus was however continued by the Swedish chancellor **Oxenstiern** during the minority of Queen Christina (*Vide Bk, I. Ch. III. Reformation in Scandinavia*), but the Swedes were defeated by the Imperialists at *Nordlingen* (1634), and were driven from southern Germany. *This battle marked a turning-point in the history of the war.* It saved Catholicism from destruction, and, at the same time, threw the defeated Protestants into the arms of France. **Richelieu**, seeing that Sweden was no longer a match for the Emperor, openly joined her (1635), and declared war against both Houses of the Hapsburgs which were allies all through the war.

Wallenstein murdered 1634.

Richelieu entered the war.

II. The International Period of the War:

(4) The French-Swedish Period, (1635-48):

The war was no longer a religious war. France and Sweden fought against the Emperor and Spain only to obtain territories. France was fighting for the Rhine frontier, Sweden for Pomerania. The Lutherans, alarmed at French interference in Germany, made peace with the Emperor at *Prague* (1635), by which the Edict of Restitution was revoked, and only Lutheranism was recognised as a privileged religion.

Treaty of Prague between the Lutherans and the Emperor.

By 1636, the Swedes were driven to the Baltic, and the French from the Rhine. In 1637 Ferdinand II died and was succeeded by Ferdinand III. The French attacked *Alsace* and took it (1639). On Richelieu's death (1642), **Mazarin** carried on his policy. The French generals, Condé and Turénne, proved very successful. The Spaniards were defeated at *Rockroi* (1643), and the Imperialists at *Freiburg* and other places. In the meantime, the Swedes invaded Bohemia and obtained a victory at *Jankow* (1645). Both parties being now exhausted concluded the *Peace of Westphalia* (1648).

Accession of Ferdinand III, 1637.

End of the war, 1648.

The Peace of Westphalia (1648):

The lines laid down at Passau and Augsburg were followed; the Calvinists secured toleration; the south and west of Germany remained Catholic, while the north became Protestant (Lutheran and Calvinist); the Edict of Restitution was withdrawn and secularisations of church-properties before 1624 were confirmed; the Imperial Chamber was to consist of equal number of Catholics and Protesants. But toleration granted was merely of the old kind; there was no religious freedom for the *Individual* but for the *State*. However, it marked the end of the era of the Reformation and proved to be a turning-point in the direction of complete religious toleration in the future.

I. Religious settlements:

France obtained the Austrian possessions of Upper and Lower Alsace, also Metz, Toul and Verdun; Sweden got the command of the Baltic by the cession of Western Pomerania, the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden; Brandenburg acquired Magdeburg, Minden, Halberstadt and Eastern Pomerania; Maximilian of Bavaria,

II. Territorial changes:

retained the Upper Palatinate and his Electoral dignity, while an eighth electorate was created for Charles Lewis, the son of Elector Palatine Frederick; independence of the Swiss cantons and of the United Netherlands were recognised; the Dutch were allowed to retain their colonial conquests, and their trade was secured against the rivalry of Antwerp by closing of the river Scheldt.

III. Other political changes: Independence of the German states was recognised, and they were allowed to make treaties with foreign powers so long as they were not directed against the Emperor or the Empire. The authority of the Emperor was thus reduced to a minimum, and the Hapsburgs henceforth had to concentrate their attention on their hereditary dominions only. A loose confederative system of independent states was established henceforth in Germany and her decentralization was completed. Brandenburg, now the greatest state in Germany, began her career of aggrandisement till growing into a kingdom (*viz.* Prussia) she became the formidable rival of Austria for the headship of Germany. France and Sweden also acquired a chance of interference in the Empire.

Continuance of the war between France and Spain. *N.B.*—The war between France and Spain, however, continued as Spain refused to make adequate territorial concesssions to France. Emperor Ferdinand III, on the other hand, was compelled by a new article in the treaty (of Westphalia), neither to fight against France nor to send any assistance to Spain.

General Results of the Thirty Years' War:

1. Disruption of Germany: The war destroyed German unity and weakened the Imperial authority; Germany

became a loose confederation in which the Emperor's authority was to be nominal. It drew a permanent line of demarcation between Protestant and Catholic Germany, settled the boundaries of various states and the constitution of the Empire. It secured Protestantism and terminated religious hostilities permanently. It gave birth to the modern system of European politics and a new era of public law. France stepped into supremacy in Europe instead of the Hapsburgs through the exertions of Richelieu and Mazarin.

2. End of religious hostilities.

3. Birth of new political system:

4. Ascendancy of France.

CHAPTER VIII.

Crusade against the Turks.

Solyman the Magnificent, and the Greatness of the Ottoman Turks :

Reign of Solyman, (1520-66).

Under Solyman, the son and successor of Sultan Selim, the Turkish power and glory reached its zenith. By his victories, he made large additions to his empire. He captured *Rhodes,* an important Catholic outpust in the Levant, from the Knights of St. John ; wrested *Belgrade* from the Hungarian king, whom he defeated and killed afterwards in a battle and destroyed Hungarian independence ; besieged *Vienna,* the capital of Austrian Empire, without success, and threatened the south-east of *Germany* but retired at the unity of the Empire effected by the Religious Peace of Nuremburg ; subjugated *Morea* and north coast of Africa ; and his powerful fleet routed the allied fleet of *Genoa, Florence, Naples and Malta.* In the course of his last attempt on *Hungary,* the great Sultan died (1566). The Turkish empire now extended from Buda on the Danube to Bussorah on the Euphrates ; on the north, it was protected against the Poles by the fortress of Kamenietz and against the Russians by walls of Azof ; on the south, the rock of Aden commanded the Red Sea ; to the east, the empire reached the shores of the Caspian.

Extent of the Turkish empire.

Moral and religious advance of the Turks.

Under Solyman, the Ottoman empire not only achieved her territorial greatness, but her moral energies never became so much conspi-

cuous. Solyman himself was morally great and his toleration in an age of religious strife and persecution commanded the admiration even of the Christian people.

Beginning of Turkish Decline:

Reign of Selim II. (1566-74).

Selim II, the unworthy successor of Solyman, depended entirely on his Grand Vizier. In spite of the Vizier's wishes, Cyprus island was captured in time of profound peace and in the most cruel manner. This revived for a time something like the old crusading spirit in Western Europe, and Pope Pius V made a *Holy League* with Spain and Venice to overthrow the Turks. A combined Christian fleet under Don John of Austria defeated the Turkish fleet at *Lepanto* (1571). Two years after, a conflict took place between the Russians under Ivan the Terrible and the Turks, the latter of whom were defeated Symptoms of decline of the Turkish power had already appeared from the closing years of the reign of Solyman the Magnificent, and the process of decay went on rapidly under Selim II and his three immediate successors owing to official corruption, insubordination of the *Janissaries*, discontinuance of the tribute of children from the conquered provinces, and the disasterous influence of female favourites at the court, till the beginning of the rule of the Grand Viziers in 1656.

Battle of Lepanto, 1571.

Causes of the decline of the Turks.

BOOK II.

THE ERA OF ABSOLUTISM.

CHAPTER I.

England under the Stuarts.

Beginning of Stuart Tyranny:

With the death of Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors, James VI of Scotland, the son of Mary Stuart, succeeded to the throne of England as **James I** (1603), thus uniting the two crowns in a *'personal'* union. With his accession, a change from the policy of the Tudors was inevitable, for the Tudor despotism had been tolerated unconsciously as a means of meeting the dangers, internal and external, through which the nation was passing. But now those dangers were away, and Elizabeth had left England united and prosperous. The character of the new king however made the change rapid and dangerous. A sad contrast to Queen Elizabeth who almost always acted as the representative of the State, James was in politics and religion an egoistic partisan. He held strongly the doctrine of *'Divine Right of Kings'*, which to him meant that the kings had, of right, dominion over the whole earth and that the will of God as revealed in His word was in favour of absolute authority of the kings which it was presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute. Armed with it as he sought to extend the royal prerogative which

Union of England and Scotland.

James's conception of Kingship.

was not very clearly defined in those days, Parliament stepped naturally forward to dispute his actions. When James ordered the levy of a number of questionable taxes on his own authority, the Parliament tried to enforce against him its exclusive right of granting taxation, controlling the national purse and criticising the general conduct of public affairs.

James's quarrel with the Parliament.

Religious questions, also increased the antagonism between James and his subjects. Shortly after, his unwise decision at the *Hampton Court Conference* not to allow liberties regarding ceremonial non-essentials, he estranged the Puritan party within the church, some of whom being deprived of their livings emigrated to Holland and thence to Massachusets in America to form a nucleus for the Puritan New England of the future. The Catholics too finding no toleration from him formed the famous *Gunpowder Plot* (1605), but the conspiracy leaked out, the miscreants were executed, and the intensity of hatred of the English people against the Catholics increased.

James estranged the Puritans.

The Gunpowder Plot 1605.

Aspiring to be the peace-maker of Europe, James had concluded peace with Spain and even opened negotiations for a Spanish match with his son. But the Spanish match having failed and Spain and Bavaria having conquered the Palatinate, the hereditary dominion of his son-in-law Frederick (*Vide Bk. I. Ch. VII.*), James supported the Bohemian adventurer Mansfeld to conquer the Palatinate on behalf of Fredercik (1624), but he died next year.

Foreign relations.

Reign of Charles I (1625-49):

First Five Years of his reign:

Charles I, who succeeded James, followed his father's lofty notions about the *Divine Right*

Growing unpopularity of Charles and his quarrel with the Parliament.

of Kings, and hence the old contest between King and the Parliament was renewed. His first Parliament, however, dissolved speedily, as it persisted in investigating public grievances and the second also met with the same fate when it wanted to impeach Buckingham who had failed in the *Cadiz expedition.* Charles now finding no other way of getting money to carry on his government forced the rich to pay him loans and began to exact 'Benevolences'. But failing to meet his needs, when he next summoned the Parliament in 1628, it forced him to accept the *Petition of Right* which declared forced loans illegal, and condemned practices like arbitrary arrests, trial by martial law and billeting of troops on householders. Though *it was one of the capital documents of English liberty,* it could not dispose of the internal troubles, and in the Parliament of 1629, Charles was attacked for levying 'Tunnage and Poundage' and for his religious innovations. The king dissolved the Parliament, and began to rule arbitrarily for eleven years without summoning a fresh one. Before the end of 1630, Charles however had made peace with France and Spain.

The Petition of Right 1628.

His Personal Rule, and the Long Parliament:

During the eleven years of Charles's personal rule (1629-40), Thomas Wentworth supported the king in establishing royal despotism in civil matters while Archbishop Laud devoted himself in exalting the king's prerogatives in religious matters. Among the illegal taxes levied during the period, 'Ship-money' was refused by Hampden but to no effect. England was ready to rise into open revolt, and events

Exaction of 'Ship-money'.

in Scotland hastened the crisis. Archbishop Laud wanted to introduce the English liturgy (slightly modified) into Presbyterian Scotland (1637). The Scots binding themselves by a covenant, began to prepare for war. The two campaigns against the Scots in 1639 and 1640, known as the *Bishops' Wars'*, failed miserably and Charles was compelled to summon a Parliament in 1640 which became famous as the **Long Parliament.** It executed Wentworth and Laud, passed Acts abolishing the courts of Star-Chamber and High Commission, declared 'Ship-money' illegal, limited the king's claims on forests, prevented the king from levying 'Tunnage and Poundage' or impositions without a Parliamentary grant. These measures stripped the Crown of its extraordinary powers acquired since Tudor days.

The Bishops' wars.

The Long Parliament. and its measures.

The Great Rebellion, and Charles's Downfall:

Within a year, however, division took place in the House of Commons on religious questions, and Charles taking advantage of it rallied round him a party. He now began to overawe the Commons, attempted to arrest the five leading members of the opposition (1642), but failed and fled; London took up arms and the civil war broke out. The advantage was at first with the king's party called the *Cavaliers*, but the Parliamentarians, called derisively the *Roundheads*, soon gathered their strentgh under Oliver Cromwell and his soldiers, the *Ironsides*. A decisive campaign was fought at *Naseby* (1645), and Charles's army was totally defeated by Cromwell. Charles now surrendered to the Scots who gave him up to the English Parliament (1647). The Parliament and its own

Charles's attempt to arrest the five M.P's.

The Cavaliers and the Roundheads.

Defeat of Charles at Naseby, 1645.

'Pride's Purge', 1648.

army now began to quarrel, but Cromwell's lieutenant, Colonel Pride, 'purged' the House of the refractory members who were trying to negotiate with Charles (1648). The remnants called the 'Rump', now appointed a High Court of Justice, tried Charles and executed him (Jan. 30, 1649). Never was constitutional pedantry carried to its height; the House of Lords had been dissolved for refusing to take part in the trial, the king was gone, and the Commons were a mere fragment; *so the English constitution really broke down and the rule of the Army began.*

Trial and execution of Charles, 1649.

Political results of the execution.

The Puritan Revolution (1649-60):

After the execution of the king, a Commonwealth was set up in England, with a provincial council of state to manage the executive work. Ireland and Scotland proclaimed Charles II, son of Charles I, as king, but Cromwell subdued Ireland, and defeated the Scots at *Dunbar*. Charles II, escaped to France. Now, England clamoured for permanently settling her constitution, and as the 'Rump' Parliament still thought of clinging to power, Cromwell dismissed it by force and became the Lord Protector of England (1653).

Cromwell subdued Ireland and Scotland.

Cromwell became the Protector.

If even there was an absolute monarch in the world, Oliver became one now; but it cannot be denied that his reign won for England great fame and glory abroad. The first idea of his foreign policy was to pose as the protector of the Protestant interest all over Europe. So the Dutch War, which the Dutch had begun with England for passing the *Navigation Act*, was brought to an end, and commercial treaties were also made with Sweden, Portugal and Denmark. Shortly after, Cromwell, to his last-

Foreign policy of Cromwell.

ing glory, appeared as the friend and protector of the persecuted Protestants, the Vaudois of Provence, and putting pressure through Mazarin on the Duke of Savoy whose subjects they were, secured for them liberty of worship. England also entered into an alliance with France against Spain; Jamaica was captured by an English fleet and Dunkirk in the Spanish Netherlands fell into English hands (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. II.*).

But his home-policy to restore constitutional order ended in a failure; people could not naturally long submit to the rule of a soldier, and when Oliver died in 1658, anarchy followed. His son, Richard Cromwell, could not effectually face the situation and resigned. General George Monk, one of Cromwell's able lieutenants, now declared for a free Parliament and summoning a convention restored the old constitution and the Stuart rule Charles II was hailed with delight as the rightful king when he landed at Dover in 1660.

Death of Cromwell and anarchy in England.

Monk restored the Stuarts.

The Restoration of Charles II:

The Restoration brought the Puritan revolution to an end. It was the restoration of the Parliament and the monarchy as well, both of which were again face to face contesting for power. The people rejoiced to have the king and the Parliament restored, the more so because they could throw off all moral restraints imposed upon the society by the Puritans. Riot and debauchery became the fashion, and Charles, because he was corrupt, witty and amiable, and indulged in the profligacy of the court, assumed the position of a popular hero.

Character of the Restoration.

Foreign relations of Charles II

A monarch, who was resolved "not to go on his travels again" and led a riotous life was

sure to enter into any engagement with foreign rulers for the satisfaction of his personal desires. The foreign policy of Charles II was accordingly weak and unprofitable, being determined simply by his affection for Louis XIV of France who was exerting to gain ascendency in Europe. A war broke out with the Dutch (1664) for commercial rivalries; but owing to slackness on the part of the English government, the Dutch fleet entered the estuary of the Thames, burned some English ships and threatened London (1667). The *Peace of Breda* which concluded this war was not popular. Louis XIV was then invading the Spanish Netherlands, and Charles was forced to enter into the *Triple Alliance* with Holland and Sweden to desist the aggressions of Louis. Immediately after, Louis won over Charles by the *Secret Treaty of Dover* (1670). In return for aid which Charles was to render Louis against the Dutch, he was to receive from him a large sum of money, and, in case his subjects resisted him in his proposed declaration in favour of the restoration of the Catholic church, the aid of French troops. In 1672, Charles and Louis fell upon the Dutch, but the Dutch fought so heroically under their Stadtholder, **William of Orange,** that under popular pressure Charles had to conclude a peace with them in 1674, and Louis too followed his example by concluding the Peace of Nimeguen in 1678 (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. III*).

The first Dutch war of the Restoration, 1664-67.

Secret Treaty of Dover, 1670.

The Second Dutch war of the Restoration, 1672-74.

Charles's Religious Policy:

Though within a few years of his accession, a violent reaction followed against the Puritans, and the Cavalier Parliament passed a series of persecuting acts, *viz.*, the *Corporation Act*, the

Conventicle Act, &c., in order to ensure the supremacy of the Anglican Church, Charles II, personally inclined to Catholic worship, wished to re-establish the Catholic church. But he saw that toleration to the Catholics could not be granted without giving toleration to the Protestant dissenters. Hence, he issued a *Declaration of Indulgence* (1672) repealing the laws against the Catholics and the dissenters. It raised a stream of public indignation and the Parliament of 1673 compelled Charles to withdraw his declaration. Not satisfied with it the Parliament went further to pass the *Test Act* which compelled all office-holders who were not members of the Anglican church to resign. The rumour of the *Popish Plot* (1678) to massacre all the Protestants in England alarmed the people, and the famous *Habeas Corpus Act* was hurriedly passed to protect the personal liberty of Englishmen and to provide a safeguard against their illegal detention in prison. A bill was also brought forward to exclude James, Duke of York, the brother of the king, from the throne, he being an avowed Catholic. The bill was passed in the Commons but was rejected by the Lords owing to the influence of the king.

The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672.

The Test Act.

The Habeas Corpus Act, 1679.

The Exclusion Bill, 1679.

The Parliamentary Parties: Whigs and Tories:

The distinct advance in the political life of the nation in the reign of Charles II is the formation of Parliamentary parties. 'A Party', says Burke, 'is a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some particular principle on which they are all agreed'. Such Parties existed in the Long Parliament of 1641: the opponents

Definition of the 'Party'.

of arbitrary government in Church and State became known as *Roundheads*, while the supporters of the king received the name of *Cavaliers*. At the Restoration, the Cavaliers were entirely in the ascendant. By the time of the dispute on the Exclusion Bill (1679), the two opposing factions obtained the name of *'Petitioners' i.e.*, those who petitioned the king to summon a new Parliament for the early decision of the bill, and *'Abhorrers', i.e.*, who expressed their abhorrence of the petitions as calculated to force the king's will. Shortly afterwards, the former became known as the **Whigs** —the name applied to the Scottish Covenanters of 1648—for their disposition to oppose the court which indicated that they were no better than the covenanting rebels. The latter on the other hand, were called the **Tories**—the name applied to certain Irish robbers—because the supporters of the Duke of York as Catholics were assumed to be Irishmen who were no better than Popish thieves. Roughly speaking, the *Tories* were upholders of absolute monarchy, the *Whigs* desired a monarchy limited by Parliament; both parties being Protestants denied toleration to Catholics, but while the *Whigs* were in favour of toleration for Dissenters, the *Tories* stood for no toleration at all. Henceforward the Whigs and the Tories played an important part in the Parliamentary history of England.

Origin of Party-system on the Exclusion Bill, 1679.

Political programmes of the Tories and the Whigs.

The Coming of the Revolution:

Charles died in 1685 and was succeeded by his Romanist brother **James II** who at once expressly adopted a Catholic policy. He left himself strong enough to openly violate the Test Act by appointing officers disqualified by

Circumstances leading to the Glorious Revolution.

law. The dislike of the nation towards him increased, and it was further developed by the alarm caused by the revokation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV in France (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. III.*). James, now, went further and issued two *Declarations of Indulgence* suspending all laws against Catholics and Dissenters alike. He also expelled the fellows of the Magdalen College, for not appointing his nominee, a Catholic, to the Presidentship. Seven of the bishops who refused to read the 'Declaration of Indulgence' from the pulpits as ordered, were tried but acquitted. All these high-handed actions of the king were tolerated, for people expected Protestant succession on James's death, in the person of Mary, his daughter. But when a son was born to James in 1688, the consternation of the nation increased and some patriotic Whig and Tory nobles invited Prince William of Orange and his wife Mary to come to defend the liberties of England.

(a) The despotic course of actions of king James II.

(b) Birth of a son to James.

The Glorious Revolution, 1688:

When William landed in England, James, finding no supporter, fled to France leaving the throne vacant. The Convention Parliament declared William and Mary as joint-sovereigns of England. The bloodless revolution so silently effected, and hence called *the 'Glorious Revolution', established the supremacy of the Parliament* by setting up a king and queen who owed their position to the Parliamentary vote. Moreover, *it secured the individual liberties of Englishmen against the crown and government,* by passing a *Bill of Rights* in the Parliament (1689) which declared illegal, without its sanction, the royal exercise of Suspending and Dispensing power, the levying of money by

Flight of James and accession of William and Mary.

The Bill of Rights, 1689.

The Toleration Act.

pretence of prerogative and the maintenance of a standing army by the king. The *Toleration Act* was also passed giving the Dissenters right of public worship. The Glorious Revolution with its attendant Bill of Rights and the Toleration Act inaugurated *a new era of constitutionalism* in the history of England.

CHAPTER II.

French Monarchy under the Cardinals.

Growth of the French Monarchy:

The administration of France from 1624 to 1661 was directed by the two great Cardinals, Richelieu and Mazarin, who helped to centralise all the forces of the nation under the crown and to give France a lofty position in Europe. It thus paved the way for Louis XIV to establish monarchical absolutism in France.

Two Great Cardinals helping the growth of the monarchy in France.

Reaction in France before Richelieu:

When Henry IV died, his minor son **Louis XIII**, ascended the throne, and the queen-mother, Marie de' Medici, became the Regent (1610). Marie's aim was to unite the royal family of France with that of Spain, and so she departed from her husband's policy, both domestic and foreign. She dismissed the great minister **Sully**, deserted the Protestant allies of France, and concluded an alliance with Spain. Even, the minor king was betrothed to Anne of Austria, daughter of the Spanish king Philip III, and the Spanish prince, later Philip IV, was also betrothed to Elizabeth, sister of the French king. The weak regency of Marie provoked a series of revolts of the nobles which were suppressed; but intrigues and factious strifes continued to harass and weaken the government. The States-General, summoned in 1614 for the last time before it met again in 1789 on the eve of the French Revolution, could decide nothing. At last in 1617, the king, now grown of age, took the reins of the government

Reign of Louis XIII, 1610—43.

Confusion in France during the Regency of Marie de Medici.

End of the Regency, 1617.

in his own hands, and the regency ended. But the country was soon threatened by a religious war. The Huguenots, alarmed at the establishment of Catholicism in Bearn by royal authority (1620), revolted. The revolt, however, was put down, and the *Treaty of Montpellier* (1623), while confirming the Edict of Nantes, prohibited all political meetings of the Huguenots and left to them only two towns of security, Montauban and La Rochelle.

Huguenot revolts suppressed, 1623.

Administration of Richelieu:

His Position and Policy:

Richelieu as minister of Louis XIII, 1624-42.

In 1624, King Louis XIII appointed Cardinal Richelieu as his minister, and left the administration of his kingdom entirely in his hands. Born at Paris in 1585, of an old family of Poitou, Richelieu became the Bishop of Lucon, and a Cardinal in 1623. From the time Louis made him his minister, the Cardinal became the real ruler of France and swayed the destiny of that country for eighteen years. He had *two aims* in view: firstly, to establish the absolute authority of the king within the country by curbing the political power of the rival authorities, *viz.*, the nobles and the Huguenots; secondly, to make France supreme in Europe by crippling the allied powers of Austria and Spain.

His aims.

His Domestic Policy:

Centralisation of the monarchy (1) by curbing the power of the nobles.

With the object of developing and centralising the machinery of the monarchy, Richelieu waged incessant war against the pretensions and powers of the nobles who formed a powerful rival of the royal authority in France. By issuing a series of edicts, he prohibited duelling and ordered the aggressive nobles to pull down their fortresses. The nobles began to resist by

intrigues, and even plotted to depose Louis and give the crown to Gaston of Orleans, the king's brother, and murder Richelieu. The Cardinal's watchful eye however detected the plot, the ring-leaders were executed or banished, and Gaston being pardoned relapsed into sulky acquiesence in Richelieu's regime He also sought to curb the political power of the Huguenots who formed 'a State within the State' as the result of the Edict of Nantes and were giving much troubles to the government A second revolt of the Huguenots under Soubise and Rohan was suppressed (1625) At last when the Huguenots, irritated at the establishment of Fort Louis as a check upon their stronghold of La Rochélle, sought to found in France a defensive political organisation against their sovereign and entered into an alliance with England, Richelieu at once resolved to get possession of La Rochélle and besieged the town (1627) Assisted by the English though it offered a heroic resistance, Richelieu at last starved the town into submission Peace was however concluded with the Huguenots by the *Treaty of Alais* (1629) which allowed them to retain their religious liberty unimpaired, but they had to surrender their fortified towns which gave them a special military standing.

(2) by depriving the Huguenots of political power

But while Richelieu was thus trying always to uphold the authority of the crown, he had to confront an endless series of court-intrigues for his overthrow. The Queen-mother Marie de Medici, and Gaston of Orleans the heir-apparent, both of whom feared the Cardinal's power, successfully induced the king to dismiss him and make Marillac minister. Richelieu, however, soon regained his former control over

Failure of the attempts to overthrow Richelieu.

'The Day of Dupes.

the king, got Marillac arrested on a certain day (1630),—the *'Day of Dupes'* as it was called by the Parisians,—and executed.

The birth of a son to Louis XIII (1632), soon robbed Gaston's political importance as heir-apparent, and completed Richelieu's triumph over his court enemies. A few months however before his death (1642), Richlieu had to defend himself against another court intrigue headed by Cinq Mars, a favourite of the king, who sought to supplant the great minister and intrigued with Spain. Cinq Mars perished on the scaffold and the court-party ceased to exist.

Plat of Cinq Mars.

His Foreign Policy :

Richelieu's object was to defeat the joint Hapsburg power of Austria and Spain which stood as impediment to the supremacy of France in Europe. To stop the communication between Spain and Austria through the Valtelline Pass of the Alps, he secured its occupation by a hostile power. He had also arranged to subsidise Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden to make war upon the Emperor in course of the Thirty Years' War (1630), and after the defeat sustained by the Protestants at Nordlingen, he openly joined the Swedes in the struggle to save the cause of the Protestants as against the Catholics backed by the Emperor and Spain. Though the armies of France were not at first successful, his diplomacy involved Spain in difficulties within her own peninsula by the revolt of Portugal and Catalonia and thus paved the way for the final success of his policy. Though Richelieu died (1642) before the close of the war, his policy was faithfully carried out by his worthy successor Cardinal Mazarin, as a consequence of which France reaped the benefits of the Peace

Crippling the Hapsburgs by taking active part in the Thirty Years' War.

of Westphalia and became the practical dictator of Europe.

Estimate of his rule and Character :

Though a bishop and a cardinal of the Church, Richelieu was chiefly a statesman. He was a Catholic at Rome and Protestant abroad. His alliance with Sweden saved Protestantism in northern Europe. He suppressed the Huguenots in France but espoused the cause of the German Protestantism. He did the former to establish national unity in France and did the latter to curb the Austro-Spanish power. He exercised a far-reaching influence upon the international relations of Europe at the time and France was lifted to the first place among the powers in Europe He thus did for France, what Chatham did later for England or Bismarck for Germany.

Success of his policy

In order to centralise the administration at home, Richelieu excluded all idea of representative government. He refused to summon the States-General, of whose hostility to the idea of his system he was convinced. He crushed the provincial liberties by appointing a class of royal officers, the **Intendants,** who were men of middle class origin and were entrusted with raising of troops and of taxes as well the administration of law. Even the judicial institutions were made subservient to the monarchy The Parléments of France were not allowed to interfere in matters of legislation, and the "provincial estates" almost ceased to exist and direct government of royal officers was substituted in their place. The only body which Richelieu ever consulted was an assembly of some great men of the realm, or the "*Notables*" as they were called, whose

His attack on representative government.

Appointment of the Intendants.

The Notables.

advice it was the option of the king to accept or reject. He suppressed the nobles and the Huguenots, and made France strong and united at home, thereby paving the way for the establishment of an absolute monarchy. But Richelieu was never indifferent to the interests of the people. He attempted some reforms beneficial to them, but foreign wars and domestic troubles tied up his hands. He had founded the French 'Academy' which regulated literary style and thought in France, as also the 'Gazette' which became the organ of public opinion there.

Richelieu's services to the people and to Literature.

Undoubtedly, Richelieu was one of the most remarkable characters of Europe in the seventeenth century. Endowed with talents, wonderful perseverence and courage, he invariably selected the rising cause in every country and used it for his own advantage. But he was unscrupulous, implacable, ruthlessly barbarous, and never liked to give any initiative to the people. He "trampled all opposition with foot" and "tried to cover all errors with his scarlet robe." Though a devout Catholic he was and served under a Catholic king, he was constantly found in league with the Protestant powers of Europe and hence was nicknamed as "Pope of the Huguenots" and "Patriarch of Atheists."

Character of Richelieu.

Administration of Mazarin: *His Policy and Difficulties:*

Mazarin as minister of Louis XIII. and of Louis XIV. 1643-61.

An Italian by birth and educated by the Jesuits, Mazarin had assisted Richelieu during the latter part of his career and on his death was appointed by Louis XIII as minister. Shortly after, however, the king died (1643), and was succeeded by his son, Louis XIV, a

child less than five years old. The Queen-mother, Anne of Austria, who became the Regent, retained Mazarin as the chief minister, and, it is believed, she even married him secretly. Mazarin however received continuous and unhesitating support from the Regent and carried on faithfully the domestic and foreign policy of Richelieu. France was encouraged to lead the Protestant forces in the Thirty Years' War till Austria was completely exhausted and all Germany almost ruined. The victories achieved by the two great French generals, Condé and Turénne, brought the necessary pressure to conclude the Peace of Westphalia (1648) which secured to France considerable increase of prestige and territory (*Vide Ch. I. Bk. VII*). But before Mazarin could accomplish the tasks left to him by Richelieu, he had to face a vigorous opposition at home from the various parties that were trying to undo the work of Richelieu. The Parlément of Paris, the aristocrats, and the Parisian mob combined to resist the newly established monarchical absolutism; and this resulted in the outbreak of the civil war, commonly known as the Wars of the Fronde.

Anne of Austria, the Regent, supports the policy of Mazarin.

Mazarin and the Thirty years' War.

Rise of opposition to Mazarin.

His Part in the Wars of the Fronde:

The struggle against the monarchy, generally called the "*Fronde*" from a contemptuous comparison of the rebels to the Parisian gamins who used to fight with slings, opened with a quarrel between Mazarin and the Parlément of Paris upon taxation. The chief function of the Parlément of Paris was to act as a court of Justice, and its members held their seats by virtue of heredity, subject to payment of the *Paulette*, an annual tax; besides, it had the right of

The Wars of the Fronde, 1648-53.

registering the edicts of the king, which had not the force of laws until entered upon the register of Parlément. It had never been decided whether the Parlément could refuse such registration of royal edicts. When in 1648, however new taxes were proposed by Mazarin to carry on the war with Spain on her refusal to accede to the terms of France in the Peace of Westphalia and edicts were sent down to the Parlément, it refused registration. This opposition of the Parlément was overcome by registering the edicts in a *"Bed of Justice"* under the king's own authority. Furious at the conduct of the government, the members of the Parlément demanded the reduction of taxes, the abolition of arbitrary imprisonment by royal warrant, and the dismissal of the *Intendants*. Though the government hesitated at first, it finally decided to strike and seized the leaders of the Parlément which kindled the civil war (1648).

Opposition of the Parlement to Mazarin's new taxes leading to the struggle.

At first, the Parlément with the Parisian mob fought against Mazarin and the court of Anne. The royal forces were gathered under **Conde**, and Paris was loosely blockaded. Soon however, the nobles joined with the Parlément and the mob professing to support popular liberties; but real co-operation between them became impossible when the nobles, led by their selfish motive to recover their lost power, began to intrigue with Spain. So, in 1649, the Parlément and the mob made peace with the court; Mazarin promised concessions in matters of finance and the Parlément ceased to play the *rôle* of popular champion.

The First Fronde, 1648-49.

The nobles, however, soon organised an aristocratic "Fronde", indifferent to popular

interests, to oppose the royal authority. Guided solely by ambition, Conde now became the leader of the organisation, but Mazarin suddenly arrested him with some other nobles (1650). There was loud indignation, and even the great loyal French general, Turenne, was won over by the nobles. Members of the old Fronde in Paris joined with the rebels, and demanded release of Condé and exile of Mazarin. Mazarin bowed for a moment to the storm, released Condé, and retired beyond the frontier. But Condé soon alienated the members of the old Fronde by his selfish motives; and the Queen-mother, Anne, advised by Mazarin from his exile, at once won them over, and formed a strong royal party declaring the king of age. Turenne was now won back by the royal party; Condé was defeated outside the gates of Paris by the royal troops (1652), and withdrew from France to join the Spaniards. Mazarin returned to court in triumph (1653); the Parlément of Paris was forbidden to interfere in public affairs, and lost all its influence for a century and a half; the *Intendants* were restored, and the nobles lost their political power for ever; the system of Richelieu returned in its entirety, and the people had to submit to an absolute monarchy. The Fronde was thus ***the last rally of the discontented aristocrats as a feudal governing class against the progress of the royal authority in France.*** It sprang, as we have seen, from diverse and even opposite causes, and failed because of that diversity. With its failure, the last difficulty in the way of a centralised despotism in France was removed.

The Second Fronde, 1649-53.

Arrest of Condé leading to union of the old and new Frondes.

Decisive Influence of Turenne.

Collapse of the Frondes and its results.

His War with Spain:

Even after the Peace of Westphalia which

Invasion of France by Condé on behalf of Spain, 1653

concluded the Thirty Years' War in Germany, France decided to continue her struggle with Spain, Mazarin being unwilling to conclude a peace with the Spanish House of the Hapsburgs without adequate reward. In 1653, **Conde**, the French general who had left his own country to join the Spaniards, invaded France with Spanish troops and threatened her capital. Mazarin, now free from domestic troubles vigourously conducted the war, but could not give the decisive blow to Spain The war practically became a race between tired horses At last

Mazarin's diplomatic alliance with Cromwell.

in 1657, Mazarin took the diplomatic step of entering into alliance with Oliver Cromwell of England. Turenne, with his military tactics, forced Condé to retreat, and, assisted by a body of *'Ironsides'* of Cromwell, conquered *Dunkirk* and the fortresses of *Flanders*. The former was ceded to the English, the latter were retained by the French. Shortly after, the new Emperor Leopold I promised to send no help to Spain, thus completely isolating her from the Austrian Hapsburgs In 1659, the war was closed by

Treaty of Pyrenees, 1659,— its terms.

the *Treaty of Pyrenees*, by which France gained Artois and a number of fortresses in Flanders, Hainault, and Luxemburg ; Spain resigned all claims to Alsace ; the Pyrenees became the natural boundary between the two kingdoms. Condé was allowed to return to France and restored to his old official dignity ; Louis XIV married Maria Theresa, the Infanta of Spain, who had to renounce her claims to the Spanish succession on condition of receiving a dowry.

Estimate of his works and Character :

From the first to the last Mazarin was a first class diplomat. He added to the power and

[redacted]

stature of France by concluding the two glori-

ous treaties of Westphalia and of Pyrenees which greatly humbled the Austro-Spanish power. He completed the unity of France by suppressing the 'Fronde' and thus removed the last obstacle to royal absolutism. Thus, though he did not possess the power of initiative and the decisive vigour of Richelieu, he proved himself to be his worthy successor by carrying on and developing his ideas to a complete success. While Richelieu was a man of original genius and a statesman, Mazarin proved himself to be a diplomat and a subtle intriguer. Mazarin was avaricious and double-dealing, and maintained his influence over the queen and built an enormous fortune by unworthy means. But he encouraged Literature and Science, by founding the "Academy of Painting and Sculpture", and the "College of Four nations." Mazarin died (1661) and Louis XIV took the reins of the government into his own hands.

Contrast between Mazarin and Richelieu.

Character of Mazarin.

CHAPTER III.

The Age of Louis XIV.

Character of Louis XIV :

Louis's conception of government.

When Mazarin died with the glory of the Peace of Pyrenees still shining about him (1661), Louis XIV, then only of twenty-three, took the government into his own hands. The period of Louis's personal rule (1661-1715) is generally known as the 'Age of Louis XIV' His conception of government was thus expounded by himself—*L'Etat c'est moi,* "I am the State." Thus resolved to make himself absolute master in his own kingdom, he was equally determined to secure for France the supremacy in Europe and to establish a great French colonial empire rivaling that built up by Spain. He was serious, severe, obstinate, and intensely ambitious, but a master of details and routine work, and also had a great knowledge of the European situation and great diplomatic skill. Richelieu and Mazarin made him a despot and he meant to remain one. He was determined not to have any dominant minister and transacted the business of the government himself. He directed his minisers and secretaries of state not to sign or seal any document without his express commands. He was the "great example of modern monarchy in its highest and most splendid form." But, though Louis was the typical Divine-Right king of his age, he somehow made his autocratic government attractive, and almost all the European monarchs "looked to him as the model of what a king shoulde be."

Louis, a typical Divine-Right king of his age.

Reforms of Jean Colbert :

Though Richelieu and Mazarin, paved the way for a centralised monarchy in France, her financial condition and judicial and administrative machinery could not be improved, owing to anarchy at home and foreign wars. Under these circumstances, Louis naturally turned to the improvement of finance and the government machinery. He got Colbert, the finance-minister, as his able lieutenant to carry out his projects. 1619-83 : Colbert as finance minister.

To organise the finances first, Colbert, by his rigid supervision and relentless punishment of the farmers of taxes who made dishonest gains, by sweeping away a number of useless offices and reviving the provincial *Intendants* to superintend the financial administration, by fixing the interest of public loans at a minimum rate of five per cent., by reducing the *Taille* and imposing duties on articles of general consumption, succeeded in reducing the pressure of taxation and at the same time in increasing the revenue immensely. To increase the national wealth, native manufactures were encouraged, foreign manufacturers were invited to settle in France, and protective duties were imposed on imports while exports were encouraged by a system of bounties. To encourage commerce, internal free trade was established, roads were repaired, canals were dug, the Navy was revived, free ports were founded and companies were formed to trade with the East and West Indies, Africa, America, and India. But Colbert neglected agriculture which was the real source of France's wealth. To improve the government machinery, the judicial administration was centralised ; civil, criminal and commercial laws Financial measures : Increase of national wealth. Encouragement of commerce and trade. Administrative measures

were enacted and issued; a regular police-system was instituted; and the Army was reorganised. Besides, the government began to patronise Literature and Art by pensioning learned men and founding the 'Academy of Sciences' (1664) and the 'Academy of Music' (1669).

Other measures.

Effects of the reforms.

Thus every department felt the influence of the central government, and the result was a forced and hasty development which did not last long owing to its weak hold on individual energy and independence.

The Wars of Louis XIV:

Had France pursued a consistent policy of peace at home and over-sea expansion through commerce and colonisation, she might have been a great world-power like England. But Louis's military ambition made it impossible. He dreamt of founding a great French empire in Europe by conquests. In 1667, he actually entered upon a career of aggression and conquest, which, though successful at first, ended in disgrace. Four great wars—the War of Devolution (1667-68), the Dutch War (1672-78), the War of the League of Augsburg (1688-97), and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14)—drained the royal treasury, destroyed commerce and worked out national bankruptcy making Colbert's reforms dreams.

Four great wars in the reign and their net results.

Triumph of France:

The War of Devolution, (1667-68):

Louis XIV had, at the time of his marriage with the Spanish princess, Maria Theresa, the daughter of Philip IV of Spain, renounced his claim to the crown of Spain or the Spanish possessions. But when Philip died in 1665, Louis

Origin of the war.

became determined to extend the French frontier to the Scheldt, and claimed a portion of the Spanish Netherlands by right of his Spanish wife as against Charles II, son of Philip by his second wife. This claim of Louis, being based upon the *'Law of Devolution,'*—an old feudal rule of succession applicable in the province of Brabant in the Spanish Netherlands, according to which children by the first marriage were to inherit—was rejected by Spain. So Louis's generals, Turenne and Conde, conquered *Flanders* (1667) and *Franché-Comte* (1668) respectively. Alarmed at French successes, England, Holland, and Sweden formed a *Triple Alliance* to support Spain and to keep up the balance of power in Europe. This led Louis to make the *Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle* (1668) by which he retained the conquests in the Netherlands but gave up Franché-Comte.

The Triple Alliance leading Louis to conclude a treaty.

The Dutch War (1672-78):

Louis hated the Dutch, because of their presumption to set limits to his aggressive designs on the Spanish Netherlands. The Triple Alliance of 1667 which had checked his victorious progress was mainly the work of the Dutch, its chief author being the celebrated Dutch Statesman, John De Witt. Moreover, the Dutch were the great commercial rivals of the French and were Protestants and republicans, and the persecuted Huguenots and other exiles from France found a safe refuge in Holland whence they published books attacking the character and policy of the French king. Louis now resolved to punish the Dutch, and with his usual skilful diplomacy began to prepare for the war.

Reasons for Louis's hatred against the Dutch.

By the *Secret Treaty* of Dover in 1670 (*Vide*

Preparations of Louis.

Bk. II. Ch. I.), Louis detached England from the Triple Alliance and then he purchased the alliance of Sweden also by bribing the Swedish Council of Regency ruling for the minor Charles XI (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. IV.*). Holland being thus isolated, Louis began an unjust and unprovoked war in 1672.

Incidents of the war :

Early French successes.

On sea the Dutch fought on equal terms with the combined fleets of England and France, but on land the French were irresistible. Before French troops, however, could take the city of Amsterdam, the heart of the Netherlands, the Dutch, at the order of **William of Orange** the Stadtholder, flooded the country by cutting open the dykes. The French had to retreat, but Europe was now thoroughly aroused. Spain, Emperor Leopold I, and the Electors of Bradenburg and Saxony, joined their hands with the Dutch, and in 1674 public opinion in England forced King Charles II to give up French alliance and make peace with the Dutch. Louis had now no other ally but remote Sweden; and he now determined to force on a peace by an energetic prosecution of the war. Franché-Comte was reconquered from Spain, and a number of fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands also fell in the French hands. The French fleet also gained several naval victories over the combined fleets of Holland and Spain. In 1678 William of Orange married Mary, the daughter of the Duke of York, and England also threatened war against France. At last both parties, being exhausted, concluded the *Peace of Nimeguen* (1678). By it France obtained Franché-Comte, and all the frontier towns of the Spanish Netherlands from Spain. Holland lost nothing but obtained commercial privileges

Great alliance against France.

Later French victories.

Conclusion of peace 1678.

Terms of the peace.

from France. Thus France came out as a considerable gainer in the war, and her prestige remained unabated.

The Annexations of Louis :

After the Peace of Nimeguen, the French king was at the height of his power and glory. During the next ten years (1678-88), he carried out his autocratic ideas about government—that the king should be all-powerful at home and the kingdom omnipotent abroad. He set up three courts called "*Chambers de Reunion*" which claimed the powers of international tribunal in order to acquire territories and towns in time of profound peace by clever interpretations of the vague wordings of the Treaties of Westphalia and Pyrenees. Louis was himself both judge and plaintiff in these courts By a procedure which had appearance of legality, Alsace and the free city of Strasburg in Germany were adjudged to him which pushed the frontiers of France into Germany, and the Emperor could do nothing as he was busy in a desperate war with the Turks Similarly, without any right whatever he took Casale in Italy, and snatched away Luxemburg from Spain. A German Diet assembled at Ratisbon in 1684 to consider these acquisitions by France and their procedure, but on Louis's threat of an instant declaration of war it agreed to his proposal of cession of all he had won for a term of twenty years. The year 1684 may thus be taken as marking the very zenith of the power of Louis XIV.

The Reunions and Louis's aggressive policy.

Louis at the zenith of his power.

Religious Measures of Louis :

Determined to be supreme in France with regard to political as well as religious matters, Louis successfully asserted the power of the crown against all religious authorities.

Religious policy of Louis.

His quarrel with the Papacy.

Thus he quarrelled with Pope Innocent XI over the question of extending the *regale*—the king's right to nominate to the bishoprics and to enjoy their income during the vacancy—to the whole of France. Louis issued a declaration of Gallican Liberties (1682), limiting the authority of the Pope to spiritual matters, and asserting that the royal authority was in no way dependent upon the Papacy as well as declaring that the Pope's authority over the Church was to be final only when ratified by a council. The Pope protested but in vain, and the domination of the Papacy in France henceforth vanished.

Declaration of Gallican Liberties.

Rise of the Jansenists and their suppression.

He also adopted measures to stamp out the **Jansenists** as a religious body from France. They were the followers of Bishop Jansen of Ypres who had begun a movement (1635) within the limits of the Catholic church aiming at establishing a more rigid and puritanic method of life than that which was practised by the Jesuits who had now greatly fallen off from the principles of their founder and become greedy of power and riches. They included great scholars like Pascal, Arnauld, Racine, etc., and were as if the 'Puritans of Catholicism'. Richelieu and Mazarin persecuted them, and Louis too used his power to suppress them as they held that the Church was nidependent of the State.

Suppression of the Huguenots.

The intolerant zeal of Louis XIV led him also to curb and limit the privileges of the Huguenots though they were living peacefully since the issue of the gracious Edict of Nantes and were pursuing a successful industrial career. He at first formulated a scheme to reunite the Huguenots with the church; but its rejection by their synod hurt the vanity of the king who

began to resort to every possible form of persecution without violating the letter of the Edict of Nantes. Next, since 1683 he began to harass them by quartering regiments of dragoons upon their families till they abjured their faith. At last, stimulated by the counsel of a Catholic lady, Madame de Maintenon (afterwards his wife), Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685, prohibited the teaching and preaching of Protestantism in France, and begun to persecute the Huguenots. Four Hundred thousand Huguenots fled to England, Holland, Prussia, and America, carrying with them their arts, industry and civilization, and thus the revocation proved fatal to the best interests of France.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685:

Its effects.

Humiliation of France:

The War of the League of Augsburg (1688-97):

The high-handed actions of the 'Chambers of Reunion", Louis's annexation of Strasburg, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, alarmed all Catholic and Protestant states of Europe So in 1686, the Emperor, Spain, Sweden and Holland, formed, at the instigation of **William of Orange**, the *'League of Augsburg'* to check Louis's aggression. In 1688 Louis attacked Cologne which commanded a bridge over the Rhine and a road into the Netherlands, meaning thereby a challenge against his enemies; but before the war had well begun William of Orange, who became king of England as a result of the "Glorious Revolution" there, won England for the League (1689). So great was the fear and jealousy felt for France, that William who was the soul of the League now was able to induce

Formation of the League of Augsburg, 1686.

Alliance of the European Powers with the League 1689.

nearly all the powers of Europe, *viz.*, England, Holland, the Emperor, Saxony, Bavaria, Savoy, Spain, Brandenburg, Denmark and Sweden, to join the coalition against Louis. Louis found himself alone against enormous odds, and the war became general since 1689. He, however, proved at first to be more than a match for the formidable circle of his enemies on sea as well as on land. The fighting was mainly in the Netherlands where the French at first gained successive victories. They captured the strong fortresses of *Mons* and *Namur* and defeated William at *Steinkark*; but the English signally defeated and destroyed the French Navy off *La Hogue* in Normandy. In 1695 William managed to recapture Namur and the war dragged on for two years more till both sides being exhausted concluded the *Peace of Ryswick* (1697). Louis was compelled to cede all the towns he had captured since the Peace of Nimeguen or had won by the 'Chambers of Reunion', but Alsace and Strasburg still remained in his hands. He also gave up his claims to the Lower Palatinate, and acknowledged William of Orange as king of England. The Dutch were allowed to garrison many frontier towns in Spanish Netherlands as a barrier against French invasion. The treaty proved to be a "serious blow, not merely to the pride of Louis XIV, but to his power." The financial condition of France became alarming, and Louis had the mortification to see his hated rival, William III, firmly seated on the English throne.

Louis finding no ally signed the Peace of Ryswick

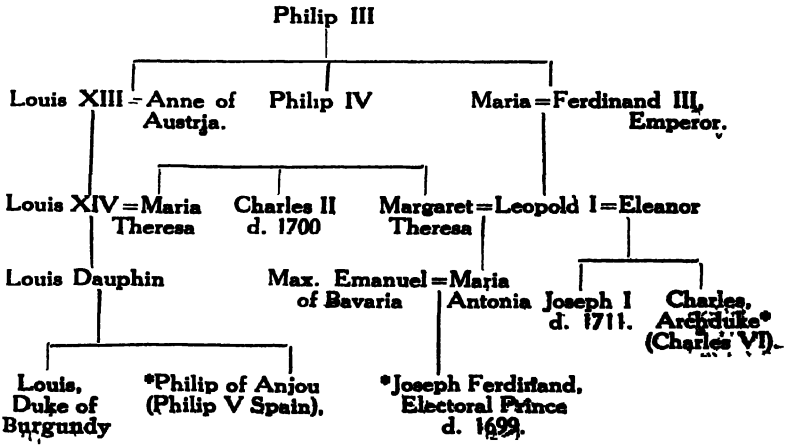
The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14):

Charles II of Spain was weak and frail, with

no sons and no chance of having a son. So the succession to the Spanish dominions, which comprised Castile, Aragon, Navarre, the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples, Sicily and the New world, became a question of European interest even before the death of Charles*. The eldest daughters both of Philip III and of Philip IV had been married into the House of Bourbon (Anne to Louis XIII, and Maria Theresa to Louis XIV), both renouncing all claims to the Spanish succession on condition of receiving a dowry. Louis XIV now claimed the Spanish throne on behalf of the descendants of himself and his wife on the ground that Maria Theresa's marriage-dowry had not been paid, and neither the Cortés nor the Parlement of Paris had ratified the renunciation clause Again the younger daughters of the Spanish House had been married into the Austrian House (Philip III's daughter to Ferdinand III, and Philip IV's to Leopold I), neither

The Question of Spanish succession, and the European interest involved in it.

Rival claimants to the Spanish throne—France, Bavaria and Austria.



of them making any renunciation. Thus, the French claims being excluded by the renunciations, Maria Antonia, the issue of Margaret Theresa and Leopold I, had a stronger claim to the Spanish throne than the French. So she claimed it for her son, Joseph Ferdinand, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria. But Leopold I compelled his daughter Maria to renounce her claims, and claimed the Spanish throne himself (as the grandson of Philip III and husband of Philip IV's daughter Margaret) or for Archduke Charles

The Two Partition Treaties.

William III of England who took a lively interest in the succession question with a view to keep up the balance of power in Europe, made the first partition treaty with Louis XIV (1698), on the principle that neither a Bourbon nor a Hapsburg should obtain the entire dominions of Spain Neither the Spanish king nor the Spanish people were however consulted in the matter By the treaty, Joseph Ferdinand od Bavaria was to have Spain, the Netherlands and the New World, while Archduke Charles and the Dauphin should divide amongst themselves the remaining possessions. Charles II, who disliked any sort of partition of the Spanish dominions, then made a will, acknowledging the Bavarian prince as heir to all his dominions. But as the prince suddenly died (1699), both the partition-treaty and the will became upset. A second partition-treaty, much more advantageous to Austria, was now agreed upon (1699), by which Archduke Charles was to have Spain, the Netherlands, Sardinia and the New World, while the Dauphin was to have the Italian possessions, except Sardinia. Soon objections were raised against the inheritance of the

First Partition Treaty upset.

Second Partition Treaty arranged.

Archduke and the Dauphin, and also against the dismemberment of the Spanish empire. So Charles II, on his death-bed, made a new will (1700), acknowledging Philip of Anjou, second grandson of Louis XIV, as heir to the whole of his Spanish dominions as he hoped that the power of France would be strong enough to keep them undivided.

Charles ignores the treaty.

Louis, at the astonishment of all Europe, rejecting the second Partition Treaty at once accepted the will of Charles II, proclaimed Duke of Anjou as Philip V of Spain, filled the frontier fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands with French garrisons, acknowledged the son of James II as king of England disobeying the Peace of Ryswick, disregarded the claims of Archduke Charles, and took measures to extend French and Spanish commerce at the expense of England and Holland. Hostilities had hardly commenced, when Holland, England, and the Emperor signed a *Grand Alliance* against the union of France and Spain. The war lasted from 1701-13. England, Holland, Austria, Elector Palatine, Elector Brandenburg (Prussia), Elector Hanover allied against France. Bavaria, Cologne, Savoy, Spain, joined France; Portugal joined in 1703.

Immediate causes of the war.

Acceptance of spanish inheritance by Louis.

The Grand Alliance against Louis.

Parties in the war.

In 1704, the first great battle occurred at *Blenheim*, near the Upper Danube and the English general Marlborough with Prince Eugene of Savoy saved Vienna from a well-planned attack of the French. In 1706 Marlborough beat the French at *Ramillies* in the Netherlands, and Eugene defeated them at *Turin* and drove them out of Italy: These signal successes were followed by the great victories of *Oudenarde* (1708) and *Malplaquet*

Incidents of the war.

French defeats.

Spanish victories.

(1709) as the result of which the allies were able to expel the French from the Netherlands. In Spain however the national spirit blazed up and though the French were not able to render assistance the Spanish armies defeated the allies at *Brihuega* and *Villa Viciosa* (1710), and Philip V was firmly seated on the throne of Spain. Shortly after, there came a change in the English government whereby the Whig minority which had so long supported the war fell from power, and the Tories coming to power began to insist on peace Marlborough was recalled (1711), and England very soon retired from the war altogether Moreover, in 1711 Archduke Charles, as Charles VI, became Emperor on the death of Joseph, and, the theory of balance of power being threatened again, the allies declined to support his claim to the Spanish throne The French were now able to defeat Austria, thus isolated, at *Denain*, and the war was ended first between France and England by the *Peace of Utrecht* (1713) by which,—

England's withdrawal from the war.

Terms of the Peace of Utrecht, 1713.

Philip V was recognised as king of Spain and her colonies on condition that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united; France retained her own territory practically undiminished; in addition to Gibraltar, Port Mahon, Arcadia and Newfoundland, England obtained the right of trading in Spanish America; Holland secured a favourable tariff and the right to garrison a line of fortresses from Ghent to Namur as a protection against French attack; Elector of Brandenburg was recognised as King of Prussia; Duke of Savoy received Sicily, with the title of King; the Emperor received Milan and Naples together with the Spanish Netherlands: this was confirmed at

the subsequent *Treaty of Rastadt* between Austria and France (1714). The attempt of France to establish a dictatorship over Europe thus failed, her prestige in Europe diminished, and the enthusiastic loyalty of her people to the king was undermined and changed to an open expression of opposition. With the destruction of the commercial monopoly of Spain in the West Indies, England became destined to be the greatest free-trading empire in the world.

General effects of the Peace.

Last years of Louis :

In his old age, Louis met with a series of domestic disasters His eldest son, the Dauphin, died and was followed by his grandson and the great-grandson in the direct line. The heir to the throne was another great-grandson, a mere child of two years, and so Louis appointed by his last will a Council of Regency in which his own illegitimate children were to have place with the Duke of Orleans as its nominal president, so that his own system of government would be mainly carried on after his death. Moreover, the disastrous war in his reign and the reckless financial administration to maintain the magnificence of his court completely exhausted the royal treasury and roused loud clamours from his subjects who were heavily burdened with taxation. In his despair the king became moody and gloomy, and a fanatical zeal seized him. The Jansenists and the Huguenots were vigorously persecuted and crushed, and any one incurring royal displeasure was arbitarily imprisoned by *Lettres de Catchet*. Port Royal, the centre of Jansenism and the home of the keenest intellects in France, was destroyed. However, sensible of the mis-

Bereavements in the royal family.

Discontent of the people.

Repression of the Jansenists and the Huguenots.

takes and faults of his reign, Louis breathed his last in Sept., 1715.

Estimate of the reign of Louis XIV :

Centralisation of the Monarchy : Louis XIV, a firm believer in the 'Divine Right of Kings', completed the centralisation of the French monarchy following the lines laid down by Richelieu and Mazarin. All institutions which could check or control the central authority were put down ; the States-general sank into oblivion, the Parléments were coerced, and provincial and municipal institutions were everywhere brought under the central authority of the king. **Religious unity :** The repression of the Huguenots and the Jansenists effected a religious unity in the country. The nobles, though excluded from their political influence, were allowed more social privileges. **Ascendancy of the middle class.** The members of the middle class were elevated to official power. The reckless expenditure to meet the expenses of the aggressive wars, to maintain the magnificence of his court, and to furnish means for the erection of numerous costly palaces (*e.g.* 'the Versailles' &c.) and public buildings destroyed the commercial prosperity of the country, and a perceptible decay in the greatness of France began. **Ruin of commercial greatness :** Louis's foreign policy was marvellously successful in as much as it led to the acquisition of an impregnable frontier ; but he made a great mistake in alienating the Protestant allies and then recommencing his old quarrel with his Catholic neighbours. **Foreign policy :** The dreams of a French empire beyond the seas led Louis to watch with paternal solicitude the growth of the French trans-Atlantic settlements : the French East India Company was organised in 1664, and colonies were established in India at Surat (1667) and at Pondicherry (1672). **Over-sea expansion of French dominions.**

Though not himself a scholar, Louis liberally encouraged men of letters, and the reign which witnessed the authors like Corneille, Racine, Moliére, Descartes, Pascal, Bossuet, Fenelon, La Bruyére, Sevigné &c., can be well designated as the *Augustan Age of French literature*. For these reasons Louis was considered by his contemporaries as the '*Grand Monarque*' of Europe. But it is sure that he did the most towards the destruction of the *ancient regimé* in France, and the vast mass of misery and suffering created by his many wars and his extravagant expenditures helped much to prepare the minds of the Frenchmen for the great Revolution of 1789.

Encouragement of Literature —the 'Augustan Age of French Literature.'

CHAPTER IV.

Sweeden and the Rise of Russia.

Russia before Peter the Great :

The Russian monarchy had been unified under Rurik dynasty in the ninth century ; but in the thirteenth century the Tartars or Mongols conquered the country, and ruled despotically for two centuries, the descendants of the Ruriks becoming mere tributaries. Under Ivan III the Russians got rid of the Tartar rule (1480). Ivan IV (1533-84), called 'the Terrible', extended the Russian frontiers to the Caspian by the conquest of Astrakan from the Tartars. He first assumed the title of 'the Czar'. His son and successor, Feoder, was deposed by his brother-in-law Boris Godunof and the House of Rurik came to an end (1598). For the next fifteen years Russia was in a condition of anarchy and became a bone of contention between Sweden and Poland. At last in 1613, the patriotic party in Russia elected Michael Romanoff, an ancestor of the later Czars and a member of their own party to the throne. Under the Romanoffs, Polish and Swedish influence were got rid of, and Siberia was added to the kingdom.

The early history of Russia, and accession of the House of Romanoff.

Reign of Peter the Great (1682-1725) :

His Accession, and his Aims :

The Romanoffs, however, came to particular honour in the person of Peter who ascended the throne at the age of ten (1682). From 1689, he began to reign supreme at Moscow. Russia was still in her original state of barbarism, the

only bond of connection with the European culture being in her adoption of Greek form of Christianity; again, in spite of her vast dominions, she was practically an inland state being cooped in on the west and the south by Persia, Turkey, Poland, and Sweden; and the Patriarch, the head of the Church, as well as the *'Streltsi,'* the Czar's body-guard, had much influence on the absolute authority of the Czar. Peter, with his statesmanlike instinct, "a man of miracles" as he was, clearly saw the situation and set himself to achieve *three great aims* of his life, *viz.* to bring Russia into closer connection with Europe by introducing European ways of life and thought; to open a way to the west by getting hold on the Black and the Baltic seas, and to get rid of the two checks placed upon the authority of the Czar and thereby exalt the monarchy.

Condition of Russia at the accession of Peter.

The three aims of Peter's life.

His Journey of Instruction :

To familiarise himself with the western civilization, he thought of travelling through Europe. But before he set out on his journey, he secured a port on the Black sea by the conquest of *Azov* from the Turks (1696), taking advantage of their embarassing situation in their war with Emperor Leopold I. He then spent the year 1697-98 in his travels in course of which he appreciated the practical genius of the Dutch, the military organisation of Austria, the refined manners of France, the clothes of England, and the German system of administration.

Peter's first conquest, and journey through Europe.

of his Authority :

While at Vienna, Peter heard that the *Streltsi* had revolted, and he returned post-haste

Streltsi disbanded.

to home. The rebellious body-guards were put down with horrible cruelty and a regular army was organised, in their place, on the European model, devoted to the Czar. Thus one check on his authority was removed. Again when the old Patriarch died in 1700, Peter organised a Holy Synod of the Greek Church with himself as the President. Thus the Czar, the head of the State, became the head of the Church.

The Church made dependent on the Czar.

His Reforms :

His hands being free, Peter began his civilizing labours. Many obnoxious customs were removed ; the nobles were compelled to clip their untrimmed beards of the old type ; the status of women was greatly improved and they were released from strict seclusion ; wearing of European clothes was encouraged, and European dancing was introduced. Education was made compulsory among the nobles, and several common schools were erected. The calendar year was commenced by him from January instead of from September. He built roads and canals, hospitals and alms-houses, encouraged commerce and industry by inviting hundreds of foreign artisans and foreign engineers to settle in Russia and establishing Boards of Trade and Post Offices, and organised a vigorous system of police. He himself had learnt the art of ship-building in Holland and studied the naval system in England and on his return laid the foundation of a Navy. He tolerated all religious sects except the Jesuits, and the Bible was translated in the Slavonic language. He improved the port of Archangel in the North, and by the conquest of Azov gained a port on the Black sea ; now he turned his attention to the Baltic coast which was

Domestic reforms in the reign of Peter.

Foundation of the Navy.

dominated by Sweden, the first power of the North, and this involved him in a struggle with her.

Ascendancy of Sweeden :

Sweden had risen to be the first power of the North from the time of Gustavus, and through his prominent part in the Thirty Years' War that country got the command of the Baltic with a foothold in Germany in the reign of his daughter Christina (*Vide Bk. I. Ch. VII*). Her successor **Charles X,** called the *'Pyrrhus of the North,'* invaded Poland and with the help of Frederick William Elector of Brandenburg, compelled its king John Casimir to fly from Warsaw, the Polish capital. A formidable coalition of Poland, Russia, Denmark, and the Empire was now formed against the ambitious designs of Sweden, and the Elector of Brandenburg also deserted to Poland on condition of having Prussia free from Polish suzerainty. The Danes in alliance with the Emperor and the Dutch made a naval attack on *Gothenburg,* and the great 'Northen War' broke out (1657). Undismayed, Charles X at once overran the Danish provinces of Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland, defeated the Danish troops, and taking *Odensee* began to threaten Copenhagen. By the mediation of France and England however, the *Treaty of Roeskilde* (1658) was concluded, by which Denmark ceded all her possessions in the Scandinavian Peninsula and agreed to close the Baltic against all enemies of Sweden. *The geographical unity of Sweden became now complete.* But the peace did not last long and the war was renewed with the *siege of Copenhagen* (1658). Charles had already made a truce with Russia, but the Elector of Branden-

Reign of Charles X (1654-60).

Coalition against Sweden and the Great Northern war 1657 :

The Treaty of Roeskilde 1658.

Renewal of the war :

burg at the head of the imperial troops continued to assist the Danes and compelled the Swedes to give up all their conquests on the mainland. At this crisis Charles X died (1660), leaving his infant son, **Charles XI,** to succeed. A Council of Regency was set up with the Queen-mother at its head. The *Treaty of Oliva* was now concluded between Sweden, Poland, and Brandenburg (1660), Poland ceding Livonia to Sweden and recognising the independent possession of Prussia to the Great Elector of Brandenburg. The *Treaty of Copenhagen* (1660) closed the Danish war on the same terms as at Roeskilde, except the clause about the exclusion of the hostile vessels from the Baltic. The general pacification of the North was effected by the *Treaty of Kardis* (1661) between Sweden and Russia on the basis of mutual restitution of conquests

Accession of Charles XI : (1660-97).

Conclusion of the Northern War, 1661.

The position of ascendancy thus acquired by Sweden in the north during the latter half of the seventeenth century, led the European monarchs to court her alliance. In 1668 England and Holland entered into the *Triple Alliance* with her against France, and subsequently when masterful Louis XIV turned the table by the *Secret Treaty of Dover* the Swedish Regency began to receive subsidies from France. Charles XI taking up the reins of the government himself (1672), continued the alliance with Louis ; and in the war that broke out between France and Holland, he created a diversion in favour of Louis by marching upon Brandenburg which was supporting the Dutch and making some conquests. The Great Elector however defeated Charles, and with the help of Denmark expelled

Swedish Alliances with England and France.

Charles's war with Brandenburg and Denmark :

the Swedes from Pomerania (1675) which was completely subjugated. After the Peace of Nimeguen which concluded the Dutch War, a treaty was made between Sweden and Brandenburg through French intervention, by which Pomerania was restored to Sweden with the exception of a small district on the right bank of the Oder (1679). Charles XI made the royal power absolute and the council a creature of his will. He revived manufacture and commerce, and being himself a warrior reorganised the Army and the Navy. He died in 1697, and was succeeded by his young and inexperienced son **Charles XII**, a boy of fifteen, who became known as the *'Lion of the North.'*

Character of the reign of Charles XI.

Accession of Charles XII; (1697-1781).

Peter's Struggle with Charles XII of Sweden :

The central event of Peter's reign was his struggle for supremacy with Sweden in the Baltic, then the only high-way of Russia to civilised Europe. A triple league between Russia, Poland, and Denmark was formed against Sweden for an attack upon her territories (1699), taking advantage of the youth of her king and the poverty of her people. But before the coalition was ready to strike, the young king, Charles XII, suddenly besieged Copenhagen and compelled the Danes to make peace (1700) He then turned against Peter who had advanced with a large army to *Nerva* on the Gulf of Finland, where he signally defeated the Russian king (1700).

Alliance against Charles XII of Sweden;

Russian defeat at Nerva, 1700.

Intoxicated with his success, Charles next fell on Poland and defeating its king, Augustus, occupied Warsaw (1702). The Polish king was also the Elector of Saxony, and his Saxon forces were now routed by Charles who forced the

Charles's attack on Poland.

Polish Diet to accept Stanislaus Leczinski, a nominee of his own, as the king (1704). Charles then suddenly invaded Saxony (1706) where Augustus had withdrawn and compelled him to agree to a treaty acknowledgeding Stanislaus as king of Poland.

Charles's invasion of Saxony.

Charles next had to direct his attention towards Peter who had, since his defeat at Nerva, reorganised his troops and overran the Swedish provinces on the Baltic and founded in 1703, amid the marshes at the mouth of the Nerva, the city of St. Petersburg (modern Petrograd) destined to be the capital of Russia. He directly marched on Moscow, the then capital, but his army, overcome by the hardships of the march and rigours of the climate, received a crushing defeat in the hands of Peter at *Pultawa* (1709). Charles fled for refuge to Turkey where he remained for five years, and involved the Turks in a war on his behalf Peter's aim was thus realised, and *Nerva was avenged.* Russia soon made good her hold on the Baltic by conquering many important Swedish towns, and came to be the leading power in the North in place of Sweden.

Charles XII marches against Peter the Great, and sustains a defeat at Pultawa, 1709.

Peter's War with Turkey :

After Charles XII had fled to Turkey from Pultawa, the Sultan declared war on Russia at his instigation. At Pruth, (in Moldavia) Peter was surrounded by the Turkish army, but he was rescued by the skilful nagotiations of his German mistress (afterwards wife) Catharine. As a result of the *Treaty of Pruth* (1711), Peter gave back Azov to the Turks, destroyed all Russian fortresses in the Turkish territory, and promised to allow a free passage to Charles XII.

Peter's critical position, and the Treaty of Pruth, 1711.

Partition of Swedish Territories :

When Charles XII returned from Turkey to Sweden (1714), he found his country threatened from all sides by the surrounding Powers and Augustus of Saxony restored on the Polish throne. So he engaged in fresh intrigues and continued fresh warfare against his enemies ; but his country was exhausted and his people were alienated. In 1718 he was killed in an obscure conflict in Norway. His sister, **Ulricha Eleanor**, who succeeded him, was compelled by the oligarchical party to accept limitations of the royal prerogative, and the tired Swedes now hurriedly arranged a series of treaties with their enemies. Hanover obtained Bremen and Verden ; Prussia obtained Eastern Pomernia ; Denmark was allowed to annex Schleswig, but had to restore her other conquests ; Augustus of Saxony received recognition as king of Poland ; while Russia obtained from Sweden by the *Treaty of Nystad* (1721) all the Swedish possessions of the eastern Baltic except Finland which she promised to restore to Sweden. Since Pultawa, Sweden had stepped down from her position as the leading power in the North, and the *Treaty of Nystad transferred the supremacy on the Baltic from Sweden to Russia.*

Death of Charles XII, and accession of Ulricha Eleanor.

Swedish territories partitioned by treaties.

Estimates of Peter the Great, and of Charles XII :

Though uneducated, uncivilised and addicted to sensual pleasures, Peter had a clear notion of the requirements of his subjects and displayed the highest qualities of constructive statesmanship. Like Philip II of Spain, he was a true representative of his race. His motive to

Character of Peter.

Peter's despotism in Russia.

establish an unqualified despotism in Russia was not like any motive of personal aggrandisement of Louis XIV. As he had little faith in the working of internal forces, he considered the despotic authority of the Czar as the only means to realise his ideal, and any opposition therefore to his various foreign innovations was ruthlessly suppressed; even his own son, the Tsarèvich Alexis, who opposed his progressive policy, had to die in prison from the effects of torture (1718). But in spite of his absolutism, he sought for the material interests of his people for which he was loved by most of his subjects who acclaimed him as "Father of the Fatherland, Peter the Great, and Emperor of all the Russians." He was "passionately interested in science and in industry and anxious, above all things, to introduce the civilisation of Europe into his own semi-barbarous land." The machinery of government set up by him worked well for a century after his death (1725). He is said to have uttered "I am the first servant of my people", and this he justified by his measures.

His interest in his subjects

Charles XII a prodigy of strength but an unpractical statesman.

The power of Sweden, however, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, rested solely on her military organisation and the warlike ability of her rulers, and as a purely military state can not last long, it was natural to rouse the antagonism of her neighbours. Charles XII of Sweden, whom no dangers, however sudden or imminent, could occasion dismay, and who was a prodigy of strength as well as of energy, astonished all Europe by his successes against the allies; but these successes were destined to be fatal to his kingdom. He began to meditate enterprises against his enemies, extravagant and impracticable in their nature; and the cool and

undismayed perseverence of his great adversary, Czar Peter, at length prevailed over his ill-directed ardour.

Successors of Peter the Great :

Catharine I, 1725-27.

Peter was succeeded by his widow **Catherine I** who followed Peter's system of government, established close relations with Emperor Charles VI of Austria, and ruled firmly till her death (1727). During the reign of her successor

Peter II, 1727-30.

Peter II, grandson of Peter the Great, the old Russian party with its reactionary policy was revived. But during the successive reigns of

Czarina Anne, 1730-40. Elizabeth, 1741-62.

Anne (of Courland) and of **Elizabeth,** niece and daughter of Peter the Great respectively, Russia took up the thread of the great monarch's policy and came to be recognised as a great European Power, successfully playing her parts in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48), and the Seven Years' War (1756-63) (*Vide Bk. II., Ch. VI*). Elizabeth's nephew and successor,

Peter III, 1762.

Peter II, was a weak and half-mad prince and his reign terminated in a few months through the intrigues of his ambitious German wife

Catherine the Great, 1762-96.

Catherine II, who gained the throne by the deposition and murder of her husband (1762).

Catherine the Great and the Expansion of Russia :

Catherine II, 1762-96.

Catherine II, who was intelligent and energetic, on ascending the throne, though by means of vice and violence, took up the policy of Peter the Great in Europeanising Russia and making her the leading Northern Power. She adopted Peter's idea of aggressive statesmanship and tried to make Russia more powerful through expansion towards the west and the

Her Policy.

south. Peter had deprived Sweden of her ascendancy, and Catherine now sought to destroy Poland and Turkey.

Her attitude towards Poland.

Taking advantage of the anarchical condition and weakness of the government of Poland, Catherine began to interfere in the internal affairs of the Poles, and in conjunction with Prussia and Austria she succeeded in destroying Poland by the three famous partitions of that country in 1772, 1793 and 1795, (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. VI*), each of the royal robbers taking a portion of the spoils. Poland thus became the "door mat" of Catherine, as she remarked, upon which she stepped when visiting the West.

First Russo-Turkish War: 1768-74.

The Turks being however opposed to the Russian intervention in Poland had declared war against Russia (1768); but they were defeated by Catherine and compelled to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia (1770). Hostilities however continued till the Turks being completely defeated signed the *Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji* (1774), by which Russia secured a firm footing on the northern coasts of the Black Sea, the right of free commercial navigation in Turkish waters, and the possession of Crimea. Elated by her successes, Catherine next conceived the project of driving the Turks entirely out of Europe, and in alliance with Emperor Joseph II of Austria, she thought of making new acquisitions near Constantinople. The Turks again declared war against Russia in 1787, but they were defeated and compelled to submit to the *Treaty of Jassy* (1792). The Turks recognised the annexation of Crimea and lost their hold on the northern coast of the Black Sea up to the Dneister towards Moldavia. Henceforth, the Russian dream of advancing

Renewal of the Turkish War, 1787-92.

upon Constantiople was left to the successors of Catherine II who have cherished it eagerly.

In the midst of her military operations, however, Catherine protected and encouraged the Arts and Sciences as well as the commerce of Russia, founded schools, gave a new code of laws to her people, and opened the country more thoroughly to the western influences. She was intensely interested in the movement of thought in France and western Europe, and her patronage of letters led Voltaire to say, "Light now comes from the North." During her reign the French Revolution broke out, and it was beyond question that she left Russia as the greatest Power of the North at her death (1796), destined to play an important part in the history of revolutionary Europe. Though a woman of great genius and an enthusiast for learning, Catherine was incredibly profligate and unscrupulous.

Domestic government of Catherine II.

Character of Catherine.

CHAPTER V.

The Empire after the Peace of Westphalia.

Changed Policy of Austria :

Effects of the Peace of Westphalia on the Empire.

With the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 by Emperor Ferdinand III, the Empire had all but ended and the decentralisation of Germany was completed. Henceforth the rulers of the Austrian House of Hapsburgs, losing all chance of becoming the real head of Germany, sought to further purely Austrian interests and tried to curb the ambitions of their enemies, the Bourbons, who had established their supremacy in Europe in place of the Hapsburgs, and to expand towards the east at the expense of Turkey. Thus **Leopold I** who became Emperor after the death of Ferdinand III, overcoming the intrigues of Mazarin with the German princes to confer the Imperial crown to Louis XIV of France, did his best to check the aggressive policy of Louis. He helped the Dutch in their war against Louis (1672-78) and joining the League of Augsburg made war upon the French (1688-97), though he virtually gained nothing out of these wars (*Vide Bk. II., Ch. III*). The traditional alliance between the two Hapsburg Houses of Austria and Spain had been broken when Leopold at the time of his election as Emperor was forced by the German princes to confirm that article in the Peace of Westphalia which bound Austria not to send any assistance to

Reign of Leopold I,

His opposition against Louis XIV.

Spain ; but Leopold, in order to re-establish Hapsburg supremacy in Europe, sought to re-unite Austria and Spain by claiming that his second son, Archduke Charles, should inherit the Spanish crown after the demise of Charles II who was childless. Louis XIV however defeated his plans by securing the Spanish succession for his grandson, Philip of Anjou, and the War of Spanish Succession broke out (1701) (*Vide Bk. II., Ch. III*). Leopold however succeeded to keep his empire intact against Bourbon aggression. He also saved Europe by repulsing the Turks whose power was revived for a time by the Grand Viziers of the Sultan. The Turkish army laid siege to Vienna in 1683, and Emperor Leopold, in the absence of any help from the leading European Powers, begged assistance from John Sobieski, king of Poland, who routed the Turks. Had Vienna fell before the Turks, they would probably have extended their frontiers to the Rhine and thereby threatened European civilisation ; or Louis XIV, after the collapse of Austria, posing himself as the champion of Christendom would have fought against the Turks and defeating them realised his dream of founding a great Bourbon monarchy over Europe. In 1687 the Turks were decisively beaten on the field of *Mohacz*, and finally by the *Treaty of Carlowitz* (1699) they had to cede to Emperor Leopold Transylvania, greater part of Slavonia, and nearly the whole of Hungary. Henceforth, *the Ottoman Empire ceased to be a terror to the Christian Powers of Europe,* and Leopold earned the reputation of being the most powerful Emperor since Charles V. Leopold died in 1705 leaving the throne to his son **Joseph I,** whose attention

His claim to the Spanish succession.

His war with the Turks.

Importance of the siege of Vienna, 1683.

Decline of the Ottoman Power.

was chiefly directed to the War of the Spanish succession and who ruled for six years only and was succeeded by his brother **Charles VI.**

Charles VI and the Pragmatic Sanction :

Charles's war with Spain.

The election of Archduke Charles as Emperor in 1711 threatened the European balance of power which England and Holland had tried their best to maintain in the War of Spanish Succession, and the *Treaty of Utrecht* was concluded by the allies of Charles with France, the terms of which Charles also had to ratify by the subsequent *Treaty of Rastadt* (1714) (*Vide Bk. II., Ch. III*). Charles however did not give up his dream of Spanish succession, though he could never realise it.

His war with the Turks.

Charles also waged successful war on behalf of Venice against the Turks, compelled them to raise the seige of Corfu, defeated them and forced them to sue for peace. By the *Treaty of Passarowitz* (1718), the Emperor got the whole of Hungary, Belgrade, and a strip of Servia, and the Sultan kept Morea. Unfortunately however, during the closing years of his reign, he had to cede most of these possessions including Belgrade to the Turks, when he wanted to assist Russia to recover Azov from them and sustained a terrible defeat in their hands (1739).

The 'Pragmatic Sanction' 1658-1705. issued by Charles— What it meant?

But the chief aim of Charles's life was to secure the rule over all Hapsburg territories for his daughter Maria Theresa, he having no male issue. He drew up a document, called the *Pragmatic Sanction,* which was accepted by his council in 1713 and received gradually the assent and guarantee of the different parts of his dominion as well as of nearly all the Powers of Europe. It contained three articles; *viz.*, (1) the hereditary Hapsburg territories must remain

one and indivisible ; (2) males of the House of Hapsburg must succeed to those possessions in order of primogeniture ; and (3) in default of male heirs, first the daughters of Charles VI, and then those of his elder brother Joseph I must succeed. The Emperor strove hard to secure the recognition of the principal European states for this document and even sacrificed the interests of his subjects for it.

The 'Ostend Company' suppressed for the sake of the Pragmatic Sanction'

Thus Charles did not hesitate to suppress the *'Ostend Company'* which he had founded in 1722 at the port of Ostend in the Austrian Netherlands in order to improve the finances of the Empire and to save the Belgiac commerce which had been threatened by the closing of the Scheldt since the Peace of Westphalia The company, while enjoying the direct Imperial patronage, had to pay 6% of its profits to the Imperial treasury England, Holland, and France became irritated at the establishment of this company as it grew to be the rival of the East India Companies of those countries Spain at first opened her ports to it, but when Charles gave up Spanish alliance in order to gain assent of England and France to the 'Pragmatic Sanction', she withdrew the commercial privileges. Charles threatened to declare war against Spain, but England averted it by giving her guarantee to the 'Pragmatic Sanction' and Charles agreeing to dissolve the company (1731). The Emperor's insane desire to have the 'Pragmatic Sanction' fully confirmed in Europe also involved Austria in the War of the Polish Succession (1733-35) and brought evils upon her and undermined her prestige and resources. *(Vide Bk. II., Ch. VI).* Charles died in 1740, leaving a disjointed and

The Pragmatic Sanction and the War of the Polish Succession.

ill-governed group of territories to his daughter, Maria Theresa, for whose sucession he had laboured so much and brought ruin upon Austria.

Maria Theresa and the Empire :

Accession of Maria Theresa, and the War of the Austrian Succession.

The death of Charles VI plunged Europe in one general and ruinous war, the War of the Austrian Succession (1741-48) as the 'Pragmatic Sanciton' was treated by the Powers as a mere paper guarantee (*Vide Bk. II., Ch. VI*). On her father's death, Archduchess Maria Theresa immediately assumed the rule of Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and other Hapsburg lands with her husband Francis of Lorraine as joint ruler, for whom she also claimed the Imperial dignity But her rights to the Hapsburg possessions and her husband's claim to the Imperial throne were disputed by a host of claimants including Charles, the Elector of Bavaria, who had married the second daughter of Joseph I. Prussia and France, though pledged to support the 'Pragmatic Sanction', now took up the claims of Charles of Bavaria who was elected as Emperor **Charles VII** in 1742 The 'Pragmatic Sanction' was thus thrown to the winds, and things went very hardly with Maria Theresa. In the war that followed, she displayed considerable coolness, tact, and determination, and with the support of the Hungarians and the English she managed to avert the dismemberment of her dominions except Silesia which was ceded to Frederick the Great of Prussia. Charles VII died in 1745, and Maria Theresa's husband was recognised as Emperor **Francis I.** The *Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*, which finally concluded the War of the Austrian Suc-

Charles VII elected as Emperor, 1742-45.

Emperor Francis I, 1745-65.

cession in 1748, was felt to be little more than a breathing space.

Maria Theresa however could not make up her mind to abandon Silesia for good to Prussia, and now acting under the advice of the Imperial Chancellor, **Kaunitz**, brought about a complete change in the foreign policy of Austria and the Empire She abandoned the alliance of the English who had advised her persistently in course of the late war to purchase the friendship of Frederick of Prussia by ceding Silesia which was claimed by him She now joined with France, and England thereupon passed over to alliance with Prussia The alliances being thus strangely changed, what is known as the Diplomatic Revolution occurred, and Europe became again involved in a gigantic struggle called the Seven Years' War (1756-63) In the war, Prussia had the advantage, while Austria suffered much and failed to recover Silesia (*Vide Bk II, Ch VI*)

Policy of Kaunitz involving the Empire in the Seven Years' War.

Emperor Francis died in 1765 and was succeeded by his son Joseph II with whom Maria Theresa jointly ruled the Austrian territories till she died (1780) In spite of her feminine weakness, Maria Theresa was a woman of lofty character, and resolute courage and a great figure in European history. She kept her husband, Francis, in the back-ground by virtue of her superior qualities. She did much to improve the position of the Empire. She reorganised the army, reformed the finances, purified the law-courts, stopped the religious persecutions, and conciliated the subjects of the various nationalities of the Empire, specially the Magyars of Hungary with the help of her Chancellor **Kaunitz**. Her ability and energy

Character and works of Maria Theresa.

saved Austria from ruin and disintegration. "The House of Hapsburg has not produced any ruler who appeals so much to the sympathy and admiration of posterity as this woman—beautiful, religious, patriotic, determined, and in the end not unsuccessful."

Joseph II. (1765-90):

His Reforms:

Aims of Joseph.

Joseph had very little harmony with his mother. His aim was to make of the Austrian dominions an ideal state, compact geographically, homogeneous in language and customs, the sovereign holding all power in his hands, and all the provinces being ruled alike. In short, the unification of the state and the unchecked power of the crown, were his ideals. An enlightened prince as he was, he was the champion of religious toleration and an ardent advocate of domestic reforms. Joseph, though opposed by his mother, made the Church subordinate to the State, gave full religious toleration and rights of citizenship to the Dissenters,

Domestic reforms of Joseph.

made the serfs free by abolishing the privileges of the nobles, granted full liberty to the press, reformed the judicial administration, reduced court expenses and cut down the pensions list, founded and endowed schools for elementary education, and compelled the Magyars of Hungary to adopt the German language and customs. "He desired, in fact, to transform the multifarious possessions of the House of Hapsburg, with all their differences of religion, race, language and character, into a single modern state after the fashion set by Frederick in Prussia." In all these reforms, as well as in shaping his foreign policy, Chancellor Kaunitz had a large share. Like the Emperor, he was

a partisan of the new movement and an advocate of aggressive foreign policy.

His Foreign Policy :

Though conciliating at home, Joseph's foreign policy was to aggrandise Austria. He was one amongst others who were responsible for the *First Partition of Poland* (1772) by which he, for his share, got the country of Zips and Red Russia (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. VI*).

His part in the Partition of Poland.

When Maximilian Joseph, the Elector of Bavaria, died (1777), the Emperor claimed a considerable part of the Electorate on a vague right which had been set up, but not contended for so long ago as the year 1425, by the Emperor Sigismud. Frederick the Great, the king of Prussia, fearing the territorial aggrandisement of Austria declared war against her. The war, known as the War of Bavarian Succession, raged chiefly in Bohemia. It was, however, brought to a close by the *Treaty of Teschen* (1779) by which Joseph had to give up his project.

His designs upon Bavaria and the War of the Bavarian Succession, (1777-79).

When Maria Theresa died in 1780, Joseph, to strengthen his position against the Prussian king, formed a close alliance with Catherine II of Russia In 1785 he, never having given up his designs upon Bavaria, induced the Elector to exchange the Electorate for the Austrian Netherlands which he would get with the title of King of Burgundy. This high-handed scheme, which threatened to revolutionise the territorial relations of Germany, led Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, and other states to form the *Fürstenbund,* a sort of union, by which they pledged themselves to maintain the existing constitution of the Empire as established by the Peace of Westphalia, to protect individual states against unlawful aggression, and to oppose the

Formation of the *Fürsten-bund,* 1785.

projected exchange of Bavaria for the Netherlands. The formation of the *Fürstenbund* led Joseph at once to give up his project.

In 1787 Joseph paid a visit to Catherine II of Russia and renewed his alliance with her. The two ambitious monarchs also formed a bold plan of conquering and dividing the Turkish dominions in Europe. The Sultan took alarm and declared war against them. The war began in 1788, and in the same year, Prussia, England and Holland formed a *Triple Alliance* to oppose the schemes of Austria and Russia, and to maintain and consolidate the peace of Europe. Though the Austrian and Russian forces defeated the Turks in battles after battles, the politic steps of the members of the Triple Alliance, the death of Joseph II, and the pacific foreign policy of the new Emperor Leopold II, all combined to bring the war to a close by the Turkish *Treaties of Sistowa* (1791) *and Jassy* (1792) with Austria and Russia respectively.

His part in the Eastern Question, (1787-92).

His Character and Work :

Joseph died in 1790. An ardent champion of liberal ideas, eager to grant religious toleration and to introduce domestic reforms, Joseph was ambitious enough to increase royal power. He was the best though not the greatest of those benevolent despots to whom Europe owes a good deal. No one can deny that he had a real enthusiasm for progress and love for humanity, but his idea was that he was to be the sole judge and interpreter of the general welfare of his people who should not participate in the work of reform. He endeavoured to imitate Frederick the Great of Prussia in his foreign and domestic government, but he failed. Professor Lodge remarks, "Joseph is like the boy

Joseph, the best of the benevolent despots.

Joseph, as compared with Frederick the Great.

playing with. Chemistry, who loves to mix together the strongest compounds and to produce startling results; Frederick treats his materials with the economy and straightforward purpose of the trained man of science." Thus, though he had laboured throughout his life to elevate and civilise his subjects, he made them unhappy and discontented and earned their hatred His insistence on religious toleration and his opening of education to laymen roused bitter hostility His plan of consolidation of the Austrian provinces ended in their complete dissolution. His hope of adding to his territories was frustrated, as at the time of his death they were in danger of being dismembered by Prussia and her allies. These failures were due to his doctrinaire and revolutionary haste to do many things at a time, his lack of that wisdom which a reformer must possess to take account of the beliefs, habits, and prejudices of men and of races, his attempts to ignore the past history, and his want of patience to wait for results But he *did not fail in everything*: his abolition of serfdom, his system of education and of toleration, and his revision of laws produced beneficial results which came to be appreciated later on.

Joseph's failures.

Reasons for his failure

His partial successes.

CHAPTER VI.

The Rise of Prussia and Partition of Poland.

Early History of the Growth of Prussia :

Importance of the history of Prussia

The history of Prussia is important in as much as she is identified with Germany. It is Prussia which has given unity to Germany, and Germany as a state only exists through the efforts of Prussia Modern Prussia, consisting of different parts which were once widely separated and often antagonistic became united into one state by the accident of marriage and inheritance or by force of diplomacy and war Other independent states as still remain in North Germany are of little importance in comparison with Prussia, because she has best represented the characteristics and aspirations of the whole people and controls the foreign policy of the whole country. In a word, "the rise of Prussia has been the new birth of Germany."

Elements in the growth of Prussia.

The three elements that led to the growth of modern Prussia are, the Mark of Brandenburg which forms the heart of the state, the Duchy of Prussia which became added to the lands of Brandenburg and gave the name to the whole state, and the House of Hohenzollern whose marriages, diplomacy and conquests have united the whole into one solid state.

The history of Brandenburg

"The cradle of the modern kingdom of Prussia is the Mark of Brandenburg." The Mark of Brandenburg was a military outpost formed in the tenth century on the northern frontier of Germany by the Teutonic Knights

at the invitation of Emperor Frederick II and Pope Gregory IX to suppress the Salvonic and other non-German races which dwelt beyond the Elbe In 1415 at the Council of Constance, Brandenburg was given by Emperor Sigismund to Frederick of Hohenzollern and it was made an Electorate By the time of Luther, Brandenburg came to be a Protestant state

The history of the duchy of Prussia.

The Duchy of Prussia situated along the Eastern Baltic, belonged to the Teutonic Knights who conquered and christianised the territory in the thirteenth century But the western half of their territory had been annexed by the king of Poland, while the eastern half was held as a fief under him. These knights became Protestant in the days of Luther, and Albert of Hohenzollern, a younger member of the House of Hohenzollern and the then Grand-master of the Teutonic Order, gave up his ecclesiastical dignity and got Eastern Prussia as a duchy under Poland Albert's successor acquired the duchy of Cleves by right of Albert's marriage But in 1611 Albert's line having failed, the duchies of Prussia and Cleves were inherited by the Elector of Brandenburg, a near relative of Albert Brandenburg, thus united with Prussia and Cleves, however played no important part in the history of Germany till the accession of Frederick William, known as the Great Elector (1640)

Union of Brandenburg and Prussia, 1611.

Frederick William, the Great Elector (1640-88):

George William of Brandenburg played a sorry part in the Thirty Years' War, in which his dominions suffered much from the ravages of the Swedes. But his son and successor, Frederick William, the Great Elector, [illegible]

Foreign policy of the Great Elector.

extraordinary talents as a general and politician in the war and received valuable additions of territory in the Peace of Westphalia (1648). He next sought to free the duchy of Prussia from the Polish suzerainty, and taking advantage of the Northern War (1655-60) kindled by Charles X of Sweden, he at first sided with the Swedish king and then with the king of Poland. As its result, he succeeded in inducing the Polish king to abandon his feudal overlordship over Eastern Prussia and to recognise him as king there (1657). His greatest feat of arms however came a few years later when Louis XIV fell upon the Dutch in 1672. He, together with Emperor Leopold I, proceeded to assist the Dutch, and Sweden as the ally of Louis XIV invaded Brandenburg. At the decisive battle of *Fehrbellin* (1675), the Swedes were completely defeated by Frederick William and shortly driven out of Pomerania. It was for this victory that Frederick William received the title of the 'Great Elector.' But the Peace of Nimeguen (1678) which concluded the Dutch war did not allow Frederick to retain Pomerania.

His domestic policy.

The domestic policy of the Great Elector, however, was more successful than his foreign relations. He united the three separate territories of Brandenburg, Cleves, and Prussia by amalgamating their separate Diets, armies, and governments. He then established a sort of paternal despotism by making himself absolute in every department of the state, depriving the nobles of their political powers, curtailing the powers of the people and at the same time encouraging education, commerce, and agriculture in the country. He also sought to foster the

industries of the state by means of a protective tariff, and prepared the way for the greatness of Berlin by allowing the French Huguenots, who had been expelled by Louis XIV, to settle there. He died in 1688.

Frederick I, (1688-1713):

Frederick I acquired the title of King in Prussia.

The Great Elector was succeeded by his son, Frederick, a man without much practical instinct for administration of the state. In, 1701, he joined the *Grand Alliance* formed by Emperor Leopold I against France before the War of the Spanish Succession. In consideration of this, the Emperor conferred on him the title of 'King in Prussia'. This title was recognised by all the European Powers in the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). Henceforth the Elector of Brandenburg obtained the royal title of 'King of Prussia' (its western half being still held by Poland).

Frederick William I, (1713-40):

His domestic administration.

Though endowed with practical good sense, Frederick William I, son of Frederick I, had no diplomatic ability and political ambiton. He devoted himself chiefly to the reform and organisation of the army and the administration. His strict economy gave him a substantial surplus of revenue wth which he built up a monstrously large and well-disciplined army. He completed the Great Elector's work of centralising the various departments of the state. He set up a 'General Directory' to completely control the finances and administration which resulted in the establishment of the famous Prussian bureaucracy devotedly loyal to the crown. There was no room left for representative government in Prussia, and the state was

administered by royal officials who were poorly paid and strictly watched. No criticism of royal actions were allowed, and the king "was in everything Prussian in the narrowest sense of the word." But he showed some interest in education and took part in theological disputes. His want of confidence in his own diplomatic ability always kept him aloof from international affairs. However, in one war, the war against Charles XII of Sweden after his defeat at Pultawa, in which he took part, he was successful in receiving an addition to his territory with the sea-port of Stettin on the Baltic. Alarmed at the alliance between Emperor Charles VI and Philip of Spain, he joined England and France in the *League of Hanover* (1725); but next year he joined the Emperor and guaranteed the *Pragmatic Sanction* in return for the Emperor's promise to support the Prussian claims to the duchies of Julich and Berg. The duplicity of the Emperor, however, in evading his promise induced Frederick William I to conclude a secret defensive alliance with France, the hereditary enemy of the Hapsburgs, thus putting an end to the traditonal relation between the House of Hohenzollern and the Imperial House of Hapsburgs, the natural suzerain of the former. After a peaceful patriarchal rule of twenty-eight years, Frederick William I died in 1740.

His foreign relations.

Frederick II, the Great, (1740-86):

Frederick II, a young man of twenty-eight, succeeded his father, Frederick William I in 1740. The son, since his boyhood, was a perfect contrast to the father. He was cosmopolitan in his interests and tastes, a lover of modern civilization, a sceptic in

Contrast between [illegible]

matters of religion and an upholder of the principle that a king is the servant of his people; while his father had been conservative in his ideas and habits, antiquated in his ideas of civilization, a bigoted Protestant, and an advocate of absolutism. The young Frederick was averse to drinking, gluttony and smoking that were so dear to his father, and was an amateur of the fine arts and French culture which his father considered as frivolities. Such a difference between the father and the son had once led to a clash between them. On his accession, Frederick's people expected much from him, but his thirst for military glory, and his inordinate ambition to expand the kingdom of Prussia brought the country several times on the verge of ruin. Still he may be called the hero of the Prussian monarchy, and *par excellence* the hero of the age. While he successfully resisted the power of half of Europe and extended the kingdom of Prussia by conquests, he conciliated his numerous subjects by the wisdom of his administration. He established equality amongst them by doing away with all civil disabilities founded on religious differences, gave perfect freedom to the press, mitigated the rigours of the criminal law, abolished many of the barbarities practised in the name of military discipline, enforced economy in every department, highly disciplined the army, made every department of the state perfectly subordinate to his subjects, fostered education, and encouraged commerce and industry by draining great swamps, digging new canals and establishing factories. Indeed, he was as great in his projects as he was fortunate in their execution. The two great

The works of Frederick the Great.

Domestic government of Frederick the Great.

His wars.

the War of the Austran Succession and the Seven Years' War, in which Frederick took part raised Prussia to the first rank among the military powers of Europe.

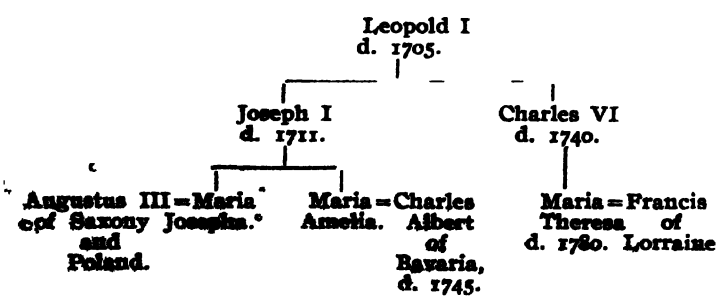
The War of the Austrian Succession and Frederick the Great :

Causes of the War :

Maria Theresa and four others claiming the Imperial throne.

When Charles VI died (1740), Maria Theresa according to the *'Pragmatic Sanction'* assumed the government of the Hapsburg territories—Hungary, Bohemia, Austria and her possessions —with the title of the 'Queen of Hungary' and further clamed the Imperial throne for her husband Francis of Lorraine. But other claimants—Charles Albert Elector of Bavaria, Augustus III Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, Philip V of Spain, and Charles Emanuel King of Sardinia came forward to dispute the claims of Francis*. (1) Charles Albert of Bavaria claimed the Imperial throne as the husband of Maria Amelia, the second daughter of Joseph I; (2) Augustus III, though he had guaranteed the *Pragmatic Sanction* in 1733, claimed it as husband of Maria Josepha, the first

The grounds of their claims.



daughter of Joseph I ; (3) Philip V of Spain, though a Bourbon in descent, based his claim to the Imperial throne on an old arrangement, between the two Hapsburg Houses of Austria and Spain, by which the crown of one house was to devolve upon the other on the failure of male heir ; and (4) Emanuel of Sardinia claimed the Imperial dignity on the ground that he was descended from Philip II of Spain. These rival claims respecting the succession to the Imperial throne resulted in a long mortal struggle which convulsed all Europe.

Events of the War :

Frederick the Great of Prussia took this as the golden opportunity of extending his kingdom. Without a declaration of war, without a cause, almost without a pretext, he suddenly invaded Silesia, one of the richest provinces of Austria (1740). The province was conquered by a glorious victory over the Austrians at *Mollwitz* (1741). The victory was a signal for general rising. Spain, Sardinia, Bavaria, Saxony and France sent their armies against Austria. The *Pragmatic Sanction* of Charles VI thus *became a dead letter*. Frederick, who had not as yet joined the coalition, urged Maria Theresa to purchase his alliance by cession of Silesia, and his proposal was also backed by England ; but the spirited queen refused, and Frederick joined France which guaranteed Silesia to him. The French and the Bavarians conquered Bohemia (1741). Maria Theresa, being desperate, roused the sensitive and gallant Magyars of Hungary by a pathetic appeal. They at once took up arms for the honour of their lovely queen. The enemies were driven out of Bohemia and Bavaria was occupied ; but

First Silesian War, 1740-42.

League against Austria.

Maria Theresa's appeal to the Hungarians.

Frederick won a victory over the Austrians at *Czaslau* (1742) Maria Theresa, thereupon, won over Frederick the Great by the *Treaty of Berlin*, by it Frederick got practically the whole of Silesia and promised to remain neutral. Thus First Silesian war came to an end (1742)

Treaty of Berlin, 1742

Prussia remaining neutral, fortune now favoured the Austrian arms Helped by England and Holland, the old allies of Austria, Maria Theresa now conquered Bavaria and overran South Germany Her English allies created a diversion by taking an army to the Netherlands and the Rhine, and won a victory over the French at *Dettingen* (1744) It seemed as if Maria Theresa was going to be the mistress of nearly the whole of Germany

Period of Prussian Neutrality, 1742-44

Alarmed at the success of the Austrian arms and anxious for the safety of Silesia, Frederick broke his neutrality, relieved the hard-pressed enemies of Austria by drawing the Austrians upon himself, and defeated them in successive battles Charles Albert of Bavaria, who had been elected Emperor Charles VII by the enemies of Maria Theresa, died in 1745 The same year, Maria Theresa concluded the *Treaty of Dresden* with Frederick, who obtained the formal cession of Silesia and recognised Maria Theresa's husband, Francis of Lorraine as Emperor Francis I

Second Silesian War, 1744-45.

The Treaty of Dresden.

Conclusion of the War, 1748 :

By the defection of Prussia, the enemies of Austria were humiliated, and finally, in 1748 the combatants, being tired of the war, closed it by the *Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*. By it, Maria Theresa was recognised as the sovereign of Austria, and her husband Francis as the Emperor ; Don Philip of Spain obtained Parma

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.

and Piacenza; Sardinia got Savoy, Nice and a part of Lombardy; the Prussian conquest of Silesia was guaranteed; France had to evacuate the Netherlands, to acknowledge the sovereign-power of Hanoverian dynasty in England, and to restore her conquest of Madras in India to the English.

Effects of the War:

Importance of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

France gained nothing in the war, and the French power rapidly began to decline. The English supremacy on the sea was not affected. Prussia, extended in dimension, became first class European power and a rival of Austria in Germany. Sardinia laid the foundation of the present Italian kingdom by her acquisitions in Lombardy.

The Diplomatic Revolution and Frederick the Great:

Sudden change in the diplomatic relations of the European powers, 1756.

In spite of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, Maria Theresa of Austria had not made up her mind to finally abandon Silesia to Frederick of Prussia, and the colonial questions at issue between England and France were by no means decided for good. The diplomatic aspects of Europe however took a sudden change in the year 1756, and the old alliances that existed among the continental powers were broken up. The enmity between France and Austria which had been regarded as the permanent feature in the European situation was now laid aside, and an alliance was formed between them which lasted till the French Revolution. Though the rivalry between England and France was not of such long standing, yet as a consequence of the [illegible] alliance between France and Austria, [illegible] was forced to pass over to alliance with [illegible]

Change in the Austrian foreign policy

This change in the diplomatic relations of the European powers was due to the policy of **Kaunitz**, the minister of Maria Theresa, who persuaded her to attempt for the recovery of Silesia from Frederick of Prussia by an alliance with France. The court of Louis XV of France, now guided by the influence of the king's mistress Madame de Pompadour, lent a ready ear to the Austrian proposals, because France was in need of an ally in her impending conflict with England for commercial and colonial supremacy.

Colonial quarrels between England and France

Hostilities which broke out between France and England outside Europe to contest the empire of the sea at once precipitated the crisis. In America, the English and the French were struggling to settle the general limits of their colonies: in India, they were espousing the causes of the rival princes to gain their respective commercial advantages. Though the English were not successful to beat the French on lands beyond the seas, English privateers were plundering French merchant-vessels in American and Indian waters. This quarrel between the two nations outside Europe soon appeared in the continent with the French conquest of Minorca (1756) which had become an English possession since the Treaty of Utrecht. King George II of England, anxious for the safety of Hanover, proposed an alliance with Austria But Austria, now having changed her foreign policy at the instance of Kaunitz as noticed above, refused to help England. The English king thereupon entered into alliance with Frederick of Prussia who agreed to protect Hanover by the *Convention of Westminster* (1756). France therefore passed into alliance with Austria, both gua-

English alliance with Prussia and French alliance with Austria.

ranteeing each other's territories against any foreign aggression by the *First Treaty of Versailles* (1756). Thus a great Diplomatic Revolution took place in the year 1756 and all Europe waited with anxious suspense to witness further developments.

The Seven Years' War (1756-63):

Its Causes:

Ever since the conclusion of the War of the Austrian Succession, Maria Theresa, the Empress-queen of Austria, was bitterly thinking of the loss of Silesia, one of the wealthiest provinces of her dominion, and acting upon the advice of her minister, **Kaunitz**, she became busy forming a league of the chief European powers comprising Russia, Sweden, Saxony and France against Frederick of Prussia. The opportunity for such a coalition, however, presented itself with the Diplomatic Revolution in 1756 (*Vide above*).

1. Maria Theresa's plans to recover Silesia from Prussia.

The colonial and commercial rivalry between England and France having grown intense in America and in India and the French having conquered Minorca (1756) which was in English hands, both these rival powers sought for continental allies. While England entered into an alliance with Prussia by the Convention of Westminster, France joined her hands with Austria by the First Treaty of Versailles (*Vide the 'Diplomatic Revolution' above*).

2. Colonial rivalry between England and France.

Frederick the Great had highly offended Czarina Elizabeth of Russia by indulging his wit at her expense, for which she became a determined and personal enemy to Frederick. When England concluded the Westminster Convention with Prussia, Elizabeth entered into a treaty with Maria Theresa of Austria pro-

3. Hatred of Czarina Elizabeth against Frederick leading to her alliance with Austria.

ing to help her with men and money until Silesia was recovered and Frederick's power was considerably humbled.

4. Frederick's invasion of Saxony.

Saxony, as she intrigued with Austria against Prussia, was invaded by Frederick the Great who entered Dresden (1756), captured the state-papers and published them to the world to justify his sudden invasion of the country.

5. Renewed alliance between France and Austria.

The sudden invasion of Saxony by Frederick led however to the conclusion of the *Second Treaty of Versailles* (1757) between France and Austria for the annihilation of Prussia by partitioning her territories. Thus the most gigantic struggle, that Europe had seen since the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War, commenced.

Events of the War :

1757—Before the allies could march upon Prussia, Frederick by his quick movements from Saxony entered Bohemia. When on the point of taking *Prague,* the Bohemian capital, a part of his army was defeated by the Austrians at *Kolin* compelling him to retreat to Saxony. Then the French army compelled the English under the Duke of Cumberland to sign the disgraceful *Convention of Closterseven* by which Hanover was surrendered to them. The allies now attacked Prussia from all sides ; the Russians devastated Eastern Prussia ; the Austrians poured into Silesia : the Swedes attacked Pomerania ; and a combined French and Austrian army marched towards Berlin. Everything seemed lost to Prussia. But Frederick kept up heart, and utterly defeated the French and the Austrians at *Rossbach* and saved Prussia. Turning to the east, he next inflicted a signal defeat on the Austrians at *Leuthen* and recovered Silesia. In India, the

Frederick's defeat at Kolin.

Frederick's victories of Rossbach, and Leuthen.

English also captured *Chandernagore* and conquered *Bengal*.

1758—**William Pitt**, the English Prime Minister, who had repudiated the Convention of Closterseven, adopted the policy of humiliating the French in America and in India by keeping them busy in Europe. 'America was to be won in Germany', and for this Frederick was liberally subsidised by the English. A part of the Hanoverian and Prussian troops was now placed under the command of Ferdinand of Brunswick who cleared Germany of the French and recovered Hanover. Frederick defeated the Russians at *Zorndorf*. In America, the English captured *Cape Breton* and *Fort Duquesne*.

William Pitt subsidised Frederick.

1759—The year was disastrous to Frederick. Though Ferdinand of Brunswick signally defeated the French at *Minden*, Frederick himself was severely defeated by the Russians at *Kunersdorf* and a Prussian force surrendered to the Austrians at *Maxen*. Admiral Boscawen defeated and destroyed a French fleet off *Lagos* and established English maritime supremacy in the Mediterranean. Admiral Hawke annihilated another French fleet in the *Quiberon Bay* and General Wolfe captured *Quebeck* in America. In India, French admiral Lally failed to take *Madras*.

Defeats of Frederick.

English successes on the sea.

1760—Frederick of Prussia improved somewhat his position by defeating the Austrians at *Torgau*—the last pitched battle in the war. In America, General Amherst captured *Montreal* and made the English master of all Canada. In India, Admiral Sir Eyre Coote destroyed the French fleet at the battle of *Wandewash*.

Frederick's success at Torgau.

English victories in America and India.

securing for the English the first place in the Carnatic.

Peace negotiations opened.

1761—In India, Admiral Coote captured *Pondicherry*, destroying the French power in the south. The disasters of the French in America and in India induced **Choiseul**, the French minister to resume peace negotiations, seconded by Austria and Russia since tired of the war. King George III of England under the influence of his minister Bute, who came into office after the fall of Pitt, also desired peace with France.

Close of the war.

1762—England signed the preliminaries of peace with France before the end of the year, suspending all hostilities against her own land and sea. Deprived of English support, the ruin of Prussia seemed at hand. But the death of the Czarina Elizabeth saved Frederick from the impending calamity. Peter III, who succeeded to the Russian throne, out of his passionate admiration for Frederick detatched the Russian troops from the Austrians and made a treaty of alliance with Frederick.

Conclusion of the War :

The Treaty of Paris 1763 : its terms.

England and France concluded the *Treaty of Paris* in 1763 by deserting their respective allies. By it, England got from France, *Minorca* in Europe and *Nova Scotia, Canada* and *Cape Breton* in America ; the Mississippi formed the boundary between English and French colonies ; the French withdrew their troops from German soil. The French possessions in India were also ceded to the English except a few settlements only being retained for commercial purposes without power to fortify them or maintain troops therein.

With the withdrawal of England and France from the war, Prussia became helpless, and Austria abandoned her hope of reducing Prussia. Both parties then agreed upon peace. By the *Peace of Hubertsburg* (1763), Maria Theresa ceded Silesia to Frederick finally and Frederick evacuated Saxony. The Peace of Hubertsburg, 1763.

Effects of the War :

Prussia finally emerged from the war without loss of territory and with vastly increased influence and prestige, and came to be considered as a first class military power. Germany henceforth came under the leadership of Austria and Prussia, and England gained an unrivalled supremacy in the sea. The war freed the English-American colonies from French attacks, made England supreme in the New World, and laid the foundation of an English empire in India. It turned England to be 'the workshop of the world' and her people commercial to the extreme, and made commercial rivalry the principal factor in international politics. France was robbed of her military prestige, her colonial and commercial ambitions in America and India were frustrated, her resources were drained off, and her people were alienated from the Bourbon monarchy. The general results of the war.

Frederick and the First Partition of Poland :

For several years after 1763, Frederick devoted his attention to the consolidation of his power and to the material prosperity of his subjects. But his inordinate desire to extend Prussia in dimension led him to join Austria and Russia in the First Partition of Poland (1772) by which he gained Polish or Western Frederick rounded out his dominions at the expense of Poland, 1772.

Prussia, establishing thereby the necessary continuity between his central and eastern provinces. (*Vide p. 204 for details*).

Frederick and the Question of Bavarian Succession :

When Joseph II of Austria claimed Bavaria in 1778, Frederick by an armed demonstration, backed by France and Russia, compelled him to give up his claim by the *Treaty of Teschen* (1779). Again, when in 1785 Austria wanted to exchange the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria, Frederick formed the great league of the German princes, the *Fürstenbund,* to maintain the condition of the Empire as established by the Peace of Westphalia.

Treaty of Teschen.

The *'Fürstenbund.'*

Estimate of Frederick the Great :

Frederick died in 1786, leaving to his nephew Frederick William II, a prince of much inferior ability, an extensive and prosperous kingdom, a huge well-disciplined army, and a well-filled treasury. In ability and force of character, Frederick was superior to his contemporaries. Carlyle calls him "the last of the kings" in the sense that there was none after him as great as he. Expediency was his only guide in the conduct of foreign affairs, but in his relations to his own people he followed the code of duty. His conception of kingly office was so just and exalted, that he considered himself as "the first servant of the state," and in this lies his difference from Louis XIV who is said to have said 'I am the state.' He not only looked after the material well-being of his subjects, but also devoted himself regularly in philosophical and literary pursuits. A free thinker himself, and sceptic in nature, he was indifferent towards all religions and hence tolerant. His ambition

Frederick's superiority over his contemporaries.

His conception of kingship.

His tolerant

was to aggrandise Prussia and glorify himself in which he succeeded. Centralising all power in his own hands, he made Prussia a new centre of German crystallisation. As a legislator, a general, a statesman, his genius was superb. He was one of those men whom Nature produces at long intervals, and was certainly political rarity whom Mill would call the 'true ruler of men'—an Enlightened Despot. His success as a ruler.

Partition of Poland :

Early History of Poland :

Poland had become one of the powerful kingdoms in Northern Europe in the sixteenth century The dynasty of the Jagellons ruled the country from 1386 to 1572, and the history of their reign was the common history of a barbarous monarchy After the death of Sigismund II, the last hereditary Jagellon king (1572), the nobles made the Polish crown elective and drew up a constitution by which although Poland remained nominally a monarchy it became an oligarchical republic in disguise, the nobles in the Diet holding all powers. The greatness of Poland reached its zenith under **John Sobieski** who saved the country from the invasion of a Cossack horde and was elected king in 1674. At the invitation of Emperor Leopold I he fought against the Turks and forced them to raise the second siege of Vienna (1683) ; thus Germany, nay all Europe, was freed from the danger of Mahomedan yoke. Sobieski died in 1696, and with him expired the greatness of Poland. Rule of the Jagellons 1386-1572. Greatness of Poland under Sobieski.

Poland before its Partition :

The country was in a state of chronic anarchy on account of the anomalous character

Anomalous character of the Polish constitution.

of her new constitution. In name the government was a monarchy, but the crown was elective and the king a mere figure-head. The nobles could arrange their own terms with the king at the time of his election, and by the *liberum veto* even a single noble could nullify the decision of the Diet by his vote and by the *right of confederation* any number of nobles might combine or even take up arms if necessary to secure an object. The nobles, thus having a monopoly of power, began to oppress the peasantry who were sunk low in degradation and misery.

Invasion of Poland by Charles XII.

The disorders due to such an anarchical constitution were further hastened by the course of events in the eighteenth century. During the reign of Sobieski's successor, Frederick Augustus II, Elector of Saxony, Poland was invaded and conquered by Charles XII of Sweden (1702-3) who compelled the Polish Diet to depose their king and to elect Stanislaus I, a protege of his own, in his place. But the reverse of fortune, which Charles experienced at *Pultawa* in 1709, gave back Frederick Augustus II his crown, Stanislaus being deposed. On the death of Augustus II (1733) his son Augustus III claimed the Polish throne, while Louis XV of France wanted to place again his father-in-law the deposed Stanislaus I there. These rival claims led to the War of the Polish Succession (1733-35). Austria and Russia supported the claims of Augustus, while Spain and Sardinia joined with France to uphold the cause of Stanislaus. Though French arms gained an important victory over the Austrians in Italy, by the *Peace of Vienna* Augustus III was confirmed on the

War of the Polish Succession.

throne of Poland. The reign of Augustus III was however deplorable. The Diet was distracted by factions: the national assembly was dissolved by *liberum veto*: the country began to decline in wealth, population and public spirit. Moreover religious differences made the situation worse: the *Dissidents* or the Polish Protestants who were being cruelly persecuted by the dominant Catholics, being excluded from offices and the Diet, now sought for help from the neighbouring powers, thereby giving them an opportunity to interfere in Polish affairs.

Internal weakness of Poland in the reign of Augustus, III.

Circumstances leading to its Partition :

The partition of Poland was due as much to her internal weakness as to the greed of her royal neighbours.

The anarchical condition of the Polish state in the latter part of the eighteenth century was made the pretext by the despoiling sovereigns for their action. But it was really the desire for aggrandisement and rounding off territories thereby which prompted the royal robbers to join in the partition of Poland without any regard for international honesty or any consideration of the principle of nationality. It was the interest of Frederick the Great of Prussia to prevent his rival, the Elector of Saxony, from making the Polish crown hereditary in the Saxon house; he was also anxious to secure the intervening territory of Poland which cut off East Prussia from Brandenburg. Catharine II of Russia desired also to exclude the Saxon house from Poland as Saxony was not on good terms with Russia and was the ally of Austria and France, the two rivals of Russia, and if possible to annex Poland; but as it would in-

Motives of the Powers for partition of Poland.

Policy of Frederick the Great of Russia.

Policy of Catharine II of Russia.

volve her in a European war, she adopted a moderate policy to bring Poland under her control by placing a native on the throne who would look to her for support. France and Austria wanted to keep Poland intact and to avoid war; but their vascillating policy could not prevent the partition.

Designs of France and Austria.

The First Partition of Poland (1772):

Russian supremacy in Poland.

Through the machinations of Catharine II of Russia, Stanislaus II, a weak and vascillating prince, was elected king after the death of Augustus III (1764). He became a puppet in the hands of Catharine and Poland soon came completely under Russian control. The Polish patriots formed a league called the *'Confederation of Bar'* to regain their former liberty, but Russia suppressed the league. Alarmed at the growing influence of Russia in Poland, Prussia now proposed the partition of that ill-fated country, but Russia refused (1768). Shortly after when Turkey declared war upon Russia and taking advantage of it Austria occupied a portion of Poland, Russia consented to the scheme of partition. France under the guidance of her minister **Choiseul** was trying to preserve the independence of Poland, but the fall of Choiseul helped the royal conspirators to carry out their scheme of partition by a treaty signed at *St. Petersburg* (1772). By it, Russia annexed Polish Livonia and part of Lithuania, Prussia gained Polish Prussia, and Austria took Zips and Red Russia. Stanislaus II remained king of the rest of Poland.

Prussian proposal of partition.

Treaty of St. Petersburg, leading to the partition

The Second Partition of Poland (1793):

The outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War in 1787 gave an opportunity to the Poles to shake

off the domination of Russia under which they were living since the first partition. The party of reformers in Poland radically changed the constitution of the country whereby the crown was made hereditary, the executive power was vested in the king and a responsible council of ministers, the legislative power was conferred on the Senate and an elective Diet, and *liberum veto* and the *right of confederation* were abolished. Catholicism became the state-religion whereas toleration was granted to other faiths. Russia became irritated at these reforms; Prussia did not like to see a strong monarchy in its immediate neighbourhood; whereas Emperor Leopold II of Austria considered a strong independent Poland as a bulwark against Russian aggression in the west.

Reform of the Polish constitution, 1790.

Attitude of the neighbouring states.

In 1792 Catharine of Russia, closing her war with the Turks, invaded Poland. In spite of the appeal of Poland to Frederick William II of Prussia, he remained neutral, and the sudden death of Leopold II deprived the Poles of any assistance from Austria. The resistance of the Poles, who were divided at home, to Russia become ineffectual; Stanislaus was compelled to abolish the new constitution and restore the old one. Prussia and Russia now secretly arranged the second partition of Poland (1793), by which Prussia secured Danzig and Thorn, and Russia took Eastern Poland. Austria became indignant, though she was powerless being handicapped by the revolutionary wars in France. Unfortunate Stanislaus, now practically a vassal of Russia, had to accept the humiliating treaty, '*Eternal Silence*,' by which no change could be made in the constitution by the Poles nor they could enter into foreign relations without the express consent of Russia.

Russian intervention and abolition of the new constitution.

Russia negotiated the second partition with Prussia.

The '*Eternal Silence*'.

The Third Partition of Poland (1795):

Revolt of Kosciusko and its suppression by Russia.

The Polish patriots were not inclined to surrender their independence without a blow. They gathered under the banner of **Kosciusko**, their leader, and drove the Russian representative and his troops from Warsaw. But the Prussians defeated Kosciusko at *Rawka*, and the Russians defeated and captured him at *Maciejowice*; Warsaw surrendered after a patriotic defence, and the country lay prostrate at the feet of the conquerors. With the capture of Kosciusko perished the last hope of Polish independence, and Poland ceased to be a state

The third partition of Poland, 1795.

when Russia, Prussia, and Austria joined in the final partition in 1795. By the partition, Russia took the lion's share; Austria received a portion with Karkow; and Prussia obtained a small fraction. Stanislaus II, who had been the nominal king of Poland since 1764, now abdicated and retired to St. Petersburg. Kosciusko, afterwards released, died in Switzerland in 1817.

Thus perished an ancient kingdom playing a great part in Europe owing to its anarchical constitution and the greed of the neighbouring states. However, the partition of Poland is the most shameful act of political brigandage ever on record and is considered as a "vast national crime".

CHAPTER VII.

England after the Glorious Revolution.

The 'Glorious Revolution and the European Situation :

The 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 had not only brought a lasting check upon the abuse of the royal power in England, but also in other countries it totally changed the old popular conception of sovereignty that the succession to the throne was a matter of indefeasible hereditary right. It also established the principle that a nation had the right to impose religion upon its king. Further, England and Holland henceforth co-operated to maintain the 'balance of power' in Europe by standing against the ambitious schemes of Louis XIV of France, the greatest champion of monarchical absolutism in Europe.

General effects of the English Revolution of 1688 on other European countries.

Risings in Scotland and Ireland :

William of Orange who ascended the throne of England after the Glorious Revolution, as William III, jointly with his wife Mary, had to meet several risings, during the first two years of his reign, in Scotland and Ireland in favour of the dethroned Stuart James II. In Scotland, Viscount Dundee who had taken up the cause of James defeated an English army at *Killicrankie* but was himself killed in action and the rising collapsed. Scotland was still allowed to exist as an independent state joined to England by the tie of a common king reigning over

Collapse of the Scottish rising in favour of James II.

both the countries. But, in Ireland the situation became worse as the Irish people who were very largely Catholics rallied enthusiastically round the banner of James II who himself landed there with men and money from Louis XIV of France. William personally went over to Ireland, defeated James at the battle of the *Boyne* (1690), and compelled the Irish to acknowledge his authority. Henceforth the spirit of resistance of the Irish to English rule was broken for about a century

William's conquest of Ireland, 1690.

Foreign Policy of William III :

With the accession of William III, England became at once a leading member of the continental coalition against Louis XIV of France. William's life-long desire was to check the aggressions of Louis who was the dangerous enemy of his native country and to maintain the balance of power in Europe He therefore abandoned the weak and selfish policy of the earlier Stuart kings, *viz* , Charles II and James II, to play in the hands of Louis and joining the 'League of Augsburg' waged war against him and forced him finally to sign the *Peace of Ryswick* in 1697. Shortly after William took a leading part in the arrangement of the two Partition Treaties of the Spanish dominions. But Louis having violated them and having acknowledged the son of James II, the 'Old Pretender', as king of England in violation of the term of the Peace of Ryswick, William formed the *'Grand Alliance'* against Louis and joined the War of the Spanish Succession (*Vide Bk. II Ch. III*). The anti-French policy which England then adopted in the reign of William proved to be of immense ultimate importance to her, though William did not live to see the

William's aim of checking the aggressions of Louis XIV.

His part in the War of the League of Augsburg and in the Partition Treaties.

results of his policy as he died in 1702 just on the eve of the War of the Spanish Succession.

Constitutional Progress in William's Reign :

In his domestic administration, William III was liberal and progressive, and considerable advance was made in the direction of constitutional government. The *'Bill of Rights'* had "transferred sovereignty from the king to the House of Commons", and the *'Toleration Act'* granted freedom of worship to the Dissenters. The *'Mutiny Act'* brought the army under the control of the Parliament, and the system of restricting the money-grants to the king for a single year only compelled the sovereign to summon Parliament annually. Thus the control over the army and the purse of the national as well have made the House of Commons the actual seat of the government. Further, the system of *Cabinet Government* was also begun in the reign of William, as in order to secure the support of his war-policy he selected his ministers exclusively from the Whigs who had then a majority in the House of Commons. The parliamentary title of the monarchy was for the second time asserted, when at the end of the reign of William, the succession to the throne was settled by the *'Act of Settlement'* (1701) to his deceased wife's sister Anne (Mary having died in 1694 without any children) and in the event of her death without heirs, to Electress Sophia of Hanover, the grand-daughter of James I, and the heirs of her body being Protestants.

Sovereignty of the House of Commons.

Cabinet system of government.

Parliamentary title of the monarchy.

Reign of Queen Anne :

The main interest of the reign of Queen Anne was the War of the Spanish Succession.

The brilliant victories of Marlborough enhanced England's prestige abroad. But the Tories were averse to the war, and with the increase of the war-expenses a considerable section of the people joined the opposition. So when the Tories regained power, they disgraced Marlborough and hastened the conclusion of the war by the *Peace of Utrecht*, (1713). Besides some territorial gains of England, the commercial monopoly of Spain in the West Indies was destroyed, and England assumed the character of a great trading empire (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. III*). "Before the war," says Mahan, "England was one of the sea-powers; after it she was *the* sea-power, without any second."

England and the War of Spanish Succession.

Another important event of the Queen's reign was the Parliamentary Union of England and Scotland by the *Act of Union* in 1707. The parliaments of the two countries were merged into one, though Scotland maintained her own Church and her own laws. The union was advantageous to both countries, and specially to England in an age when her expansion was just beginning. At the death of Anne in 1714, George I, son of Electress Sophia, ascended the throne of England according to the 'Act of Settlement' and the rule of the House of Hanover began.

Union of England Scotland; 1707.

England under the First Two Hanoverians :

The rule of George I, the first Hanoverian sovereign, was weak, and the foreign policy of England underwent considerable changes. He was primarily interested in the Electorate of Hanover, and at the same time anxious for the safety of the Hanoverian succession in England. In order to safeguard the interests of Hanover,

Reign of George I, 1714-27.

he thought it necessary to cultivate friendship with Holland and Austria, while to frustrate the plans of the Jacobites or the supporters of the Pretender, the son of James II, he sought to maintain friendly relations with France. The ambitious policy of **Alberoni,** the chief minister of Philip V of Spain at the time, helped the English king to achieve his objects. Alberoni tried his best to recover the old position of Spain in Europe, and began to develop for this purpose the long-neglected internal resources of the country. He began to encourage commerce and industry, reorganise the Army, improve the finances and revive the Navy which had once made Spain great. In 1717 Spain seized Sardinia, which had been given to Austria by the Peace of Utrecht, and conquered Sicily to recover her old possessions in Italy. France, Holland, and Austria joined their hands with England forming the *Quadruple Alliance,* and the Spanish fleet was beaten off *Cape Passero* by the English Admiral Byng (1718). Alberoni now began to negotiate with **Gorz,** the Swedish minister, to support the Jacobites against the Hanoverians, whilst a conspiracy was concerted in France for deposing Duke of Orleans, the Regent of Louis XV. and giving the regency to Philip V of Spain. But all these failed, when Alberoni was disgraced in court (1719).

Aggressive policy of Alberoni, the Spanish minister.

The Quadruple Alliance against Spain and the outbreak of the Spanish War.

In consequence of peace, there was a marked increase of speculation among the people in the reign of George I, and the famous *South Sea Bubble* (1729) caused much distress. There was a loud outcry against the ministers, and **Sir Robert Walpole,** one of the leading Whigs, restored public credit encouraged commerce and industry of the country, and became gradually

Walpole, the first Prime Minister.

Establishment of the Cabinet system of government.

recognised as the Prime Minister or the President of the English 'Cabinet.' This '*Cabinet*' was an informal committee, composed of the members in charge of the chief departments of the state who carried on the practical administration of the government in consultation with the king. Owing to his ignorance of English language and English politics, King George I ceased to attend the Cabinet councils, and became more and more dependent on his ministers. But the ministers could not carry out their policy unless backed by a majority in the House of Commons as the national representatives had the right to control the national policy, and since then the principle has been recognised that the ministers must belong to the party which commands the parliamentary majority. The existence of the Cabinet thus became dependant upon the will of the House of Commons, and the ministers in a sense became responsible for the conduct of all departments, the Prime Minister exercising a general supervision over the whole Cabinet. Thus the reign of George I, witnessed the final establishment of the Cabinet system, and the Commons gaining the ultimate voice in shaping the governmental policies, the power and influence of the Crown largely diminished.

Reign of George II, 1727-60.

Under the guidance of Walpole the new king, **George II,** continued the policy of peace till whole Europe was convulsed by the War of the Austrian Succession (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. VI*). Commercial relations between England and Spain being again strained, Walpole was forced to declare war against Spain, known as the '*War of Jenkins' Ear*' (1739). The war was conducted so sluggishly that all blame went to

Walpole. Being himself the most pacific of statesmen, he refused to take part in the 'War of the Austrian Succession' and had to resign office (1742). A successful administrator and able financier as he was, England had consolidated herself under his administration. He was in no way attracted by the glamour of imperialism, nor was he an advocate of idealism and enthusiasm. His motto was '*Quieta non movere*' ('let sleeping dogs lie')—not to rouse up opposition by attacking vested interests: thus he gave relief to the Dissenters by annually passing an *Indemnity Act*, instead of repealing the 'Test Act' which remained on the statute book.

Foreign policy of Walpole.

Walpole's domestic administration.

After the fall of Walpole, England definitely took part in the War of Austrian Succession (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. VII*). Silesia being attacked by Frederick the Great of Prussia, George II became anxious for the safety of Hanover and joined in the struggle as an ally of Austria and an enemy of France. Though very little help was rendered to Maria Theresa in her life and death struggle with Frederick, the English won a victory over the French at *Dettingen*; but they were in their turn defeated by the French at *Fontenoy*. The war was closed by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), and ultimately England gained nothing out of it save a confirmation of the commercial advantages secured from Spain by the Peace of Utrecht.

England and the War of the Austrian Succession.

Meanwhile, this breach of the friendship between England and France did encourage Charles Edward, the grandson of James II, better known as the 'Young Pretender,' to land in Scotland in order to regain the English throne, if possible. With the aid of highland

Failure of the Jacobits, 1745.

army, he occupied Edinburgh and marched up to Derby, but was defeated at *Culloden Moor* (1746) and escaped to France where he died. *It was the last attempt of the Stuarts to recover the English throne.*

England and the Seven Years' War :

Motives of England for joining the War.

Just after the middle of the eighteenth century, England and France became rivals for the colonial empire which led to the outbreak of wars between the colonists of both the countries in America and in India. At the same time Maria Theresa being anxious to recover Silesia from Frederick the Great of Prussia, entered into alliance with France. England had no fondness for Prussia and no hatred for Maria Theresa; but her colonial rivalry with France and the wars that broke out in America and India decided her to throw into the arms of Prussia. The struggle between the English and French colonists in America and in India thus became blended together with the war between Austria and Prussia in Europe and came to be known as the Seven Years' War. (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. VI*). English troops co-operated with the Prussians in defeating the French in Europe, mainly because England was anxious for the safety of Hanover and also wanted to keep the French engaged in Europe so that they might not vigourously prosecute the war abroad. The war went at first disastrously against the English; but when

Pitt, the Earl of Chatham as the guiding spirit of the war.

William Pitt (afterwards the **Earl of Chatham**) came to the head of affairs in England, the English misfortunes were retrieved. Fleets and armies were equipped and despatched to all the theatres of the war, and Chatham's indomitable will and tireless energy pervaded the army and

the navy. The victory of Clive at *Plassey* (1757) laid the foundation-stone of British dominion in India, while Wolfe's victory at *Quebeck* (1759) carried the British far towards the dominion of Canada. England's supremacy in the colonial world and her mastery of the sea were now ensured. Frederick the Great rightly remarked of Chatham, "England has at last brought forth a man" Always original in his ideas and methods, free from corruption, and loving justice and liberty for their own sake, Pitt could believe that "I can save this country and no one else can" Endowed with an eloquence of the highest type, he could inspire enthusiasm in others, and became known as the 'Great Commoner' Fascinated by the vision of the Empire that Britain might establish in the East and in the West, he induced the nation to follow it But the death of George II and the accession of his grandson George III (1760) who wanted to "be a king", led to a change in the English policy and Chatham was driven from office The Prussian alliance was abandoned, and the war was brought to a close by the Peace of Paris in 1763 (*Vide Bk II. Ch. VI*). Though Great Britain did not gain so much as she might have done by the result of the war, yet she freed her American colonies from French attacks and laid the foundation of an empire in India.

English victories in India and America.

Accession of George III (1761) and the end of the war.

England and the American Revolution :

The overthrow of the French power in America made the English colonists less dependent upon the mother-country than before, and with their growing strength and aspirations they soon stood against the old system of colonial government which regarded the colonies as the possessions of the mother-country and to

Causes of the quarrel between England and America.

be administered for its own advantage. The occasion for this quarrel arose when to meet the heavy expenses of the Seven Years' War, the British Parliament insisted upon taxing the American colonists who had profited much out of the war and imposed a duty by the *Stamp Act* (1765). The colonists resented strongly against the claim of the British Parliament to tax them as they were not represented therein. The British Parliament had to withdraw the tax but it formally asserted at the same time its right to tax the colonies. So frictions continued, and when Townshend further imposed some customs duties on the colonists, agitations began afresh leading to riots and massacre at Boston (1770). The English politicians differed amongst themselves regarding taxation of the colonists. George III and the Tory party with its chief agent Lord North who was the Prime Minister considered the Americans as the subjects of England who must obey; while the Whigs whose intellectual force was to be found in Burke urged the Parliament to see the colonists as Englishmen and abandon the idea of taxing them. Chatham however while praising the Americans for "setting a just value upon that inestimable blessing, Liberty" and considering the attempt to tax them as tyranny, looked with horror at the attitude of the Americans to sever their bonds with Great Britain and declared in favour of maintaining at all costs "the superintending power and control of the British legislature". In 1773, Lord North however repealed all the duties except on tea, which led to the throwing of the tea-chests from the ships into the Boston harbour by the colonists. Angry at it, the British Parlia-

Views of the English politicians on the taxation of America.

ment passed Acts closing the Boston port for commerce, depriving Massachusets of its representative institutions, and prohibiting public meetings without leave of the governor. The Congress at Philadelphia raised an army under **George Washington** for resistance against England, and the *'Declaration of Independence'* was issued by the colonists in 1776. Though the English had some success in the beginning, the surrender of Burgoyne at *Saratoga* came to be the turning-point of the war. France seized the opportunity to avenge herself upon England and joined the new republic. Henceforth the English became hard-pressed everywhere in land and in sea: and at last General Cornwallis surrendered at *Yorktown* (1781). By the *Peace of Versailles* (1783) England recognised the independence of the American colonies.

The War of American Independence declared.

France helps the colonists.

Peace of Versailles, 1783.

This victory of the Americans had its far-reaching effects. The United States of America became "Europe with a fresh start," for it is on this new soil the people of nearly all the European countries came to settle and entered on a new life. England henceforth entirely altered her colonial system of government and granted much more freedom and independence to her colonies which in the nineteenth century came to be termed as 'Dominions.' Lastly, the spectacle of the American Republic played upon the thought and the imaginations of the Frenchmen which along with other causes hastened the French Revolution.

Effects of the American Revolution on the European politics.

Legislative Independence of Ireland :

Though Ireland was conquered by William III, the Irish Parliament continued to sit at Dublin ; but that parliament was dependent

Grievances of the Irish Parliament.

upon the English crown. During the reign of George I a statute was passed whereby the English Parliament asserted its right "to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland." The success of the Americans in the War of Independence however encouraged the Irish to agitate for the legislative independence of their parliament. Large bodies of volunteers were organised and armed; and **Grattan**, a member of the Irish Parliament, carried a motion in 1782 affirming the right of England "to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of Ireland" The American calamity prevented the English government from resisting the demand, and the independence of the Irish Parliament was conceded

Legislative Independence conceded, 1782.

The Industrial Revolution :

Changes in England due to industrial revolution.

From the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the face of England began to change as a consequence of what we call the 'industrial revolution'. The commercial and colonial expansion of England prepared the way for her industrial development. Machinery began to be introduced in the manufacture of cotton and wool; and the steam-engine supplied the requisite motive power to run the new machinery. Industrial towns began to develop in the north and the people from the south began to shift there. Roads and canals were built which facilitated the transport of commerce, and the methods of agriculture were improved. Wealth rapidly increased, which helped England to carry on the fight against the revolutionary forces in France. The industrial revolution of the eighteenth century thus "exerted a deter-

mining influence upon the course and issue of the great French Revolution and of the Napoleonic wars which grew out of it."

CHAPTER VIII.

The Decline of the French Monarchy.

The Regency and Reaction:

Accession of Louis XV and the beginning of the Regency, 1715.

After the death of Louis XIV, his great-grandson **Louis XV**, a boy of five, succeeded, and Philip, Duke of Orleans, became the Regent. The Regent, though a man of accomplishments, disgusted the people by his frivolous excesses and vicious character. In order to gain confidence of the nobles and the Parlément he appointed a Board of Ministers to watch over the departments of the state and upset all the arrangements made by the late king in his will to continue royal despotism. The condition of the national finances had become so very deplorable after the War of the Spanish Succession, that to meet the situation the Regent took up the suggestion of a Scotch adventurer, John Law, to form a bank for issuing paper-money to an immense extent upon the credit of the extensive possessions of France in Northern America and to bring the whole national commerce under its control (1718). By this inflation of the credit it was believed that the state would not only get rid of its debt easily, but the monarchy would also be able to reassert its absolute control over the magistracy by repurchasing the offices which had been sold. The bank was next united to John Law's *Mississipi Company* which had been given the exclusive monopoly of trade with the recently

Financial difficulties and Law's schemes.

discovered territory of Louisiana. The combined affair enabled the government to pay off 1200 millions of national debt at 3%. The shares of the Mississipi Company were greedily taken up, a regular mania of stock-jobbing began; paper-money went on being issued unlimited, which led to their depreciation and the crash naturally came in 1720 along with the South Sea Bubble in England. The bank stopped payment and was abolished afterwards; John Law escaped from France for fear of life, and credit was shaken. But the losses fell more upon individuals than upon the whole nation and the government had substantially reduced its debt at the expense of the private individuals.

The Mississipi Company and the financial crash.

The Regent however was successful in his foreign policy. He entered into an alliance with England against Philip V of Spain who was not inclined to adhere to the clause of renunciation of his claims to the French crown as arranged at the Treaty of Utrecht. Holland and Austria also joined the alliance, thus making it *Quadruple Alliance*; and when the war against Spain broke out (1718), a French army crossed the Pyrenees and compelled Spain to dismiss her ambitious minister **Alberoni** and to make peace (1720). Spain being no longer a formidable foe, she was won over by the Regent by double marriage alliances—Louis XV to marry the Infanta, and the daughter of the Regent to marry the Prince of the Asturias. The Spanish alliance however did not interrupt the cordial relations between France and England.

Foreign affairs:

The Quadruple Alliance, and the Spanish war.

Peace with Spain.

In 1732 Louis XV attained his majority, and Regent Duke of Orleans, also went to the grave. Louis now assumed nominally the reins of power, but on account of his youth he did not

End of the Regency.

actually direct the administration for some time, and depended upon his ministers.

Government of Fleury:

Domestic and foreign policy of Cardinal Fleury, the chief minister.

Cardinal Fleury, who was the old tutor of Louis XV, came to be the chief minister of the king in 1726. He improved the finances by rigid economy, and like Walpole followed a pacific policy. He looked specially to England for alliance and support, and his good understanding with Walpole not only advanced the prosperity of both countries but also the peace of Europe. Though his foreign policy was one of peace, he had to wage two wars in connection with the Polish Succession and the Austrian Succession. In the War of the Polish Succession (1733-35), France backed by Spain and Sardinia tried to secure the throne of Poland for Stanislaus I, father-in-law of Louis XV as against the claims of Augustus III of Saxony who was supported by Austria and Russia (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. VI*). French arms gained an important victory over the Austrians in Italy, but when the war was finally concluded by the *Peace of Vienna* (1738) Augustus was recognised as king of Poland, Spain gained possession of Naples and Sicily, and Stanislaus got the Duchy of Lorraine which was to pass after his death in full sovereignty to the French king. *The acquisition of Lorraine was the last gain of the French Monarchy in Europe before the French Revolution.* Fleury lived for few years more to witness France taking part in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) which however led to no territorial gains to France but was followed by rapid decline of the French power (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. VI*). Cardinal Fleury died in 1743 at the ripe old age of ninety-three,

France and the War of the Polish Succession.

Fleury and the War of the Austrian Succession.

and the unity in administration of France was broken down by discord and confusion.

Death of Fleury, 1743.

Later Years of Louis XV :

After the death of Fleury, the real direction of French affairs slipped gradually from the hands of the great servants of the crown to the royal mistress, **Madame de Pompadour** and her favourites who gained enough influence over the king. Louis now distrusted his ministers and often intrigued behind their backs, and though he claimed to control the foreign policy of the country he could neither show any diplomatic skill nor patriotism. Under the influence of the royal mistress Madame Pompadour, France passed from the alliance of Prussia to the alliance of Austria in course of what is known as the "Diplomatic Revolution", and in the 'Seven Years' War' which followed (1756-63) she had to make enormous sacrifices (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. VI*). French historians speak of this war as "an ignoble affair, a record of blunders and follies", as it not only frustrated completely the dream of a French colonial empire and of commercial supremacy in America and in India, but also drained France of her resources and alienated the people groaning under heavy taxation of the Bourbon monarchy.

Changed policy of administration with the advice of the royal mistress.

Loss of France in the Seven Years' War.

The next eleven uneventful years of the reign of Louis XV (1763-74) witnessed the development of the germs of those movements which led to the French Revolution. The court became highly corrupt ; the king cared only for his sensual pleasures and debaucheries ; the infamous *Parc aux Çerfs* (the Deer Park) spread shame and misery among hundreds of families and cost an enormous sum which told heavily

Character of the royal court.

Ministry of Choiseul : (1764-70).

on the ruined finances of the time. Madame de Pompadour died in 1764, and **Choiseul** became the chief minister. Choiseul tried to revive the naval greatness of France and to recover the lost French possessions from England. He subordinated the domestic affairs to foreign policy.

His policy at home and abroad.

At home, he was vexed by the Jesuits, and had to quarrel incessantly with the Parlément of Paris which tried to curb the royal authority over taxation and administration of justice, specially in matters of arbitrary imprisonment by *Lettres de Cachet*. The revolt of Paoli in Corsica was suppressed and Corsica was added to France (1768). The minister was dismissed from office in 1770, through the influence of the new royal mistress, **Madame du Barri,** a woman of low origin, who now began to reign supreme over a triumvirate composed of Chancellor Maupeou, Finance minister Abbé Terrai, and Foreign minister D' Aiguillon. Foreign affairs became neglected. Parlement of Paris and other provincial parlements were abolished, and a new and less independent judicial system was set up to do their works. Louis died in 1774, destroying the prestige of the great Bourbon monarchy built up by Henry IV, the Cardinals, and Louis the Grand. "After me, the deluge", he is reported to have said, and the deluge came with the French Revolution not long after his death.

Fall of Choiseul, and *Parlement Maupeou.*

Death of Louis XV 1774.

Suppression of the Jesuits :

Position of the Jesuits after the Seven Years' War.

When the Seven Years' War ended, the Order of the Jesuits was on its trial in the Catholic countries in Europe. These Jesuits had for a long time influenced the courts of the kings and had been the chief agents of Rome in turning back the tide of Protestant success (*Vide Bk. I. Ch. IV*), but since the Peace of

Westphalia they had turned into a class of merchant-missionaries and began to think more for wordly pleasures than for satisfying the spiritual needs of the humanity. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the men of letters specially in France, had become a great political power in Europe, and freedom of thought was being pushed to the very extreme by the political philosophers like Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau. The spirit of this new philosophic movement made itself felt in every department of learning, in Natural Science, in Mental and Moral philosophy, in Political Economy, etc., and rulers like Frederick the Great of Prussia, Catharine II of Russia, Joseph II of Austria, took leading part in the movement. Even the Catholic states of Southern Europe caught the spirit of the new ideas which led to the suppression of the Jesuits, the aggressive champions of Catholicism.

The Philosophic movement of the 18th century and attack upon the Jesuits.

The first blow to the Jesuits was dealt by **Pombal**, the able minister of King Joseph of Portugal, in 1757 when he forbade them to approach the court without permission, to carry on trade, or to preach. In 1758 they became involved in a conspiracy to murder the king; their properties were confiscated by Pombal in spite of the Papal opposition, and they were transported by sea to Civita Vecchia (1759).

Expulsion of the Jesuits. (a) from Portugal

In France, the Jesuits became unpopular as they closely identified themselves with the royal authority leading it to some worst acts of religious oppression. At last when they quarrelled with **Madame Pompadour**, the influential mistress of Louis XV, she availed of the bankruptcy of La Valette, the manager of a Jesuit mission in the West Indies, as an opportunity

(b) from France.

to attack the Order. The matter was placed before the Parlémen. of Paris and the whole society was charged of fraud and peculation. In vain did King Louis XV try to take the matter out of the hands of the Parlément which decided against the Order in 1761. At the instance of the provincial parlements, the minister Choiseul, and the royal mistress Madame Pompadour, a royal edict was finally published in 1764 expelling the Jesuits from France.

(c) from other southern countries of Europe.

Following the examples of Portugal and France, Venice and Genoa also restricted the privileges of the Jesuits. In 1767, they were expelled from Spain by a royal edict, as well as from Parma and the two Sicilies. Next they were driven from Bavaria in 1772. Finally in 1773, Pope Clement XIV issued a bull abolishing the Order to the great satisfaction of the progressive party throughout Europe. "It is my own right hand", he is said to have remarked, "that I am cutting off, but it has sinned". The order for abolition however did not last very long, and the Jesuits were soon restored to their old position within the Catholic Church.

Abolition of the Jesuit order, 1773.

Subsequent restoration of the Order.

Effects of the Reign of Louis XV :

Being centred in himself and in his vile pleasures, Louis XV did not effort to see what would happen to his country in the near future. The supremacy of the House of Bourbon had passed away with Louis XIV, and though France still managed to hold in Europe the provinces won for her by that monarch, she was now shorn of her colonial possessions in all quarters of the globe. The martial spirit of the French nation visibly declined in the reign of Louis XV, and "France from being the fore-

Rapid decline of the French monarchy and the nation leading to Revolution.

most of the European states, became the least among the great powers". As it was, the country now "made a swift descent towards the abyss of the Revolution of 1789".

BOOK III.

THE ERA OF REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I

The French Revolution.

Evils of the Ancient Regime in France :

(a) The Monarchy :

Causes of the French Revolution : 1. The despotic character of the Bourbon monarchy and the abuses of royal authority under Louis XV.

Louis XIV, while he had centralised the government in France thoroughly and deprived the people of any share in politics, looked to their material and social interests. But his frivolous and incapable successor Louis XV did not care for the well-being of his subjects and began to abuse the absolute authority of the king. Further, Louis XV being a slave to his low passions, his mistresses and the greedy courtiers virtually began to rule the country, and the people became alienated from the monarchy. The administration of justice was shamefully abused by the issue of warrants, called *Lettres de Cachet*, one of the most odious forms of arbitrary imprisonment.

(b) The Aristocracy :

2. The unjust retention of the rights and privileges by the nobles, inspite of the decay

The nobles had degenerated into a body of court favourites and lost their social independence. Again while in the eighteenth century the duties of feudalism had perished with the gradual centralisation of monarchy, the nobles were still allowed to retain their rights and privileges. As landlords, they were cruel, haughty, and selfish, exercising the rights

of hunting and forestry to the injury of the peasants and exacting forced labour and taxes from them. Moreover, they had a monopoly in the army, navy, church, and court, and they claimed exemption from direct taxes such as the *Taille*. of feudalism.

(c) *The Clergy :*

The Higher clergy, as they were recruited from the nobles, were oppressive, self-seeking, and indifferent to the spiritual duties. The Lower clergy, as they came from the middle classes and peasants, were poor and had to work hard without any hope of promotion and hence they sympathised with the popular aspirations. 3. The affluence of the Higher clergy and the hard lot of the Lower ones :

(d) *The Third Estate :*

This order embraced the bulk of the population below the two privileged orders, *viz.*, the nobles and the clergy, and was divided into two chief classes the *bourgeoisie* or middle class and the lesser citizens. The middle class being constituted of the well-to-do citizens had no identity of interests with the lesser citizens. All municipal appointments being saleable, most of them were held by the wealthy *bourgoisie* while the lesser citizens groaned under the tyranny of the guilds and other such associations. 4. The progress of the 5. The Bourgeoisie.

(e) *The Working Classes and the Peasants :*

Intense misery prevailed amongst the working classes and the peasants. The wages were low ; lands were minutely divided and subdivided ; the proprietorship of fiefs constantly passed from hand to hand in the market. Besides, the heavy burdens imposed on the misery of the labourers and the peasants.

produce of the soil made good cultivation impossible. 'Famine was like a disease which counted its victims by hundreds'. To crown all, such oppressive taxes as the *Tithes* for the church, the *Taille*, the *Gabelle* or salt tax, &c., as well as such compulsory duties of feudalism as the *Corvee* (forced labour imposed by the central government for making and repairing roads &c.) and a vexatious term of militia-service made them destitute, degraded, and hopeless.

(f) The Popular Institutions :

6. The suppression of the popular institutions.

They were all suppressed. The *States-General* had ceased to be summoned since 1614. The local governments in the five outlying provinces, called *Pays-de-tat* had no vitality. The *Parléments* were suppressed by Maupeou, the minister of Louis XV.

(g) The Lawyers :

7. The growing influence of the lawyers.

They were wealthy citizens and having seats in the *parléments* held immense legal power. Though a conservative body, they struggled in vain against all invasions of ancient usages whether from the side of the king or from the side of the people.

(h) Influence of Literature :

The men of letters began to promulgate ideas of dislike for the existing order and exerted enormous influence on public opinion. **Montesquieu** was the first to give France the theory of a mixed government ; his type is a legislature divided into two bodies and a monarchy invested with the right of veto and with responsible ministers. **Voltaire** and his followers began to vindicate that philanthropy ought to be the aim of the government and that

the rules should govern with absolute power in the interests of enlightenment and humanity, ignoring the interests of the ruling family or the privileged classes. He also attacked the religious beliefs and institutions of the time and preached against coercion in religion. The **Encyclopædists,** of whom the most eminent were Diderot and D'Alembert, went a step further preaching atheistical opinions, so as to undermine the whole fabric of Christian theology. Starting from the abstract theory that all men had originally equal rights and every man liberty to employ his time, his hands, his brain, according to his own advantage, a school of **Economists,** of whom the name of Quésnay—the celebrated author of the doctrine of *"Laissez faire, laissez passer"*—stands most prominent, began to preach entire liberty in trade, commerce, industry and agriculture and to expose the evils of slavery and slave trade, of interference in trade, of close guilds, of feudal duties, of taxes like *Taille* and *Gabelle,* and demanded their reform. Lastly, **Rousseau** developed a new theory of social organisation as based originally on the principle of contract and began to preach the 'Sovereignty of the People' and to attack monarchical absolutism and abuses arising therefrom. 'Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains,' the opening line of his 'Social Contract' completed the revolution in the realm of ideas; and the Revolution in America where the new ideal of political liberty seemed to have been realized added to the influence of the writers.

8. The revolutionary spirit of the French philosophy and literature and its effects on public minds.

9. The influence of the American Revolution.

(i) *Financial Position:*

The ambitious wars of Louis XIV had not only destroyed the naval supremacy and the

10. The financial straits

of the government due to the ambitious wars and luxuries of the court.

colonial dominions of France but had ruined her finances. The infamous *Parc-aux-cerfs* built by Louis XV to satisfy his low passions added heavily to the financial distress. The luxury of the court, maintenance of sinecures, the extravagance of the thoughtless Queen Marie Antoinette, wife of Louis XVI (the successor of Louis XV), and the open assistance of France in the cause of republican liberty in the American War of Independence impeded the bankruptcy of the state.

The great famine of 1789 helped the Revolution.

While all the above causes were in operation, a serious scarcity of bread in 1789 due partly to deficiency in crops and partly to the annulment of the restrictions on corn-trade according to the ideas of the Economists, contributed immensely to the elements of disorder of the time and gave the revolutionary movement a savage and desparate character.

Accession of Louis XVI :

Reign of Louis XVI (1774-93) :

Louis XVI succeeded his grandfather at the age of twenty. Though free from the gross vices of his predecessor, frugal in habit and sincerely desirous of the welfare of his subjects, he lacked those qualities which are requisite for

his character;

a sovereign at a great national crisis. Having no self-confidence and being irresolute in action, he was inclined to go by the advice of others, specially of his vivacious though inexperienced wife Marie Antoinette—daughter of Empress Maria Theresa and sister of Emperor Joseph II —whose baneful influence over the king and on the state ultimately proved fatal both to her and her husband. He began his reign with a good set of ministers. Maurepas, the first minister was a champion of new ideas ; Turgot, the great financier, was the finance minister ; Vergennes,

his choice of ministers;

an able diplomat, took charge of foreign affairs ; and Malesherbes, an advocate of progressive ideas was in charge of home administration With these able persons at the head of affairs, Louis XVI hoped to remedy the evils of the *'ancien regime'*, from within , but the evils had created such a suspicion in the minds of the people that they clamoured for the restoration of old 'parlements,' hoping thereby their distress would be minimised The ministers of advanced thought hesitated to restore the 'parlements' which consisted of hereditary bodies of lawyers who opposed all sorts of reforms and tried to secure their own selfish ends , but ultimately they were restored on condition of good behaviour This was a great political blunder, as the 'parlements' soon came into collision with the king in opposing all well-meaning attempts at reform

His restoration of the Parlements

Attempts at Financial Reform :

To restore the finances and to prevent a continued deficit of revenue, **Turgot** who was the first finance minister of Louis XVI, enforced a rigid system of economy in every department of the state, and to establish equality amongst the subjects he abolished many privileges, established perfect freedom of trade in corn within the provinces of the kingdom, stopped the *'Corvee'* and proposed to substitute in its place a land-tax payable by *all* proprietors, did away with the guilds and other similar associations so that every one might choose his occupation, and wanted to reduce the expenses of the royal household But before this plan could be carried out, his administrative career was cut short when the hesitating king, suddenly dismissed him, (1776) being induced by a court

Financial and other reforms of Turgot

His fall

intrigue supported by the queen and the privileged classes whose interests he dared to overlook. Two successive worthless non-entities came after him. They abolished all his reforms and thereby collapsed the credit of the state which become involved in fresh financial difficulties.

Necker, a Genevese banker, was next appointed as the 'Director of the Royal Treasure' (1776). He was not a statesman like Turgot with definite aims in view, but an able financier, and a humane person anxious to improve the condition of the masses. Having considerable faith in the power of credit, he thought that commerce and manufacture might be encouraged by an artificial inflation of the currency with the help of paper-money. At this time, France plunged into the American War of Independence and the expenses of the war were to be met by economy and loans on favourable terms. Necker abolished the system of farming taxes so as to bring them directly into the coffers of the state, and gave publicity to the national accounts by publishing his famous state-paper, *Compte rendu*, revealing the actual financial position of the state. The privileged classes raised a loud outcry against him for going against their interests and demanded his downfall. He resigned office in 1781, and with his fall all hopes of administrative reforms came to an end.

His financial policy.

The reforms of Necker excited hostility and led to his resignation.

Demand for the States-General:

After the fall of Necker, the financial administration was reduced to miserable plight. For some time the expenses of the government were met by borrowing at a high rate of interest, and when this became impossible, there was no

other alternative left than to impose new taxes upon all classes in France by means of royal edicts.

Calonne, the finance minister proposed a general land-tax and freedom of trade in corn, substitution of a poll-tax for the *Corvee* and such other means to raise the revenue. These proposals as they were meant to attack the interests of the privileged classes led the king to summon an *Assembly of Notables* (1787), composed chiefly of the nobility, the higher clergy and the magistracy, which proved recalcitrant and drove Calonne from office.

Calonne's proposal for financial reforms.

The Meeting of the Notables, 1787.

Brienne, the queen's nominee who next came to the office, adopted the policy of his predecessor, and though the Notables now granted him what they had refused to Calonne, he failed to meet the demands of the state and proposed fresh taxes. The Parlément of Paris opposed the imposition of new taxes, and quarrel broke out between the king and the Parlément. The Parlément sought to purchase popular support by proclaiming that the States-General alone could legally impose taxes. Riots broke out everywhere and people demanded the meeting of the States-General, the almost forgotten national assembly which had not met to deliberate upon the affairs of France for a period of 175 years. Brienne resigned; Louis reluctantly declared to summon the States-General, and to regain confidence recalled the popular minister Necker (1788).

Brienne's plans and his quarrel with the Parlement of Paris.

The demand for the meeting of States-General.

Recall of Necker.

Fall of the Ancient Regime:

The States-General and its Change into the National Assembly:

The States-General, the old feudal Parliament of France, consisting of the elected

The calling of the

States-General, May 5, 1789.

representatives of the clergy, the nobles, and the *Tiers Etat* (Third Estate, or the Commons) now being summoned (May 5, 1789) according to the king's promise, it became necessary to determine its constitution. As regards the number of representatives which each of the above three orders should possess, Necker, to win popularity, allowed the Third Estate a number of representatives equal to the other two orders taken together. As regards the question whether votes should be taken by individuals or by order, nothing was decided. All citizens over twenty-five years of age paying capitation-tax could choose 'Electors' who were to choose the 'Deputies' and to draw up the *Cahiers* or statements of grievances and suggestions of reform for the guidance of the Deputies in the States-General.

The question of its constitution and method of voting.

The *Cahiers*.

Meeting of the States-General.

The Third Estate declaring itself the National Assembly, June 17, 1789.

The States-General thus came to consist of 1139 deputies of whom 291 were clergy, 278 nobles, and 570 members of Third Estate. The clergy and the nobles, however, being in minority and so being less powerful than the Third Estate, refused to deliberate and vote together with them. Consequently, the Third Estate, which meant to remain supreme in the Assembly, declared itself the *'National Assembly'* ignoring the existence of the other two orders (June 17, 1789). Some of the leser clergy and some nobles of moderate reforming ideas *e.g.*, Lafayette, Lally-Tolendal, and other joined it.

The National Assembly and the King :

The first attempts of the Assembly.

The Assembly now guaranteed the public debt, declared the existing taxes illegal (though they were allowed to stand so long as the

Assembly was not dissolved), and appointed a committee to enquire into public distress

The hall of the Assembly closed

On June 19, 1789, the clergy decided to join the Third Estate To prevent this union, Louis XVI, now under the influence of the court-party, prohibited any further sessions of the Assembly and closed the hall The Assembly, being angry, held its meeting at the adjacent Tennis-court and took a solemn oath not to separate until the constitution had been framed on a solid basis (June 20, 1789) Next day, however, the Tennis-court being cunningly occupied by the court-party, the Assembly met in St Louis's chapel where it was joined by the majority of the clergy

The Oath of the Tennis Court, June 1789

The royal sitting and the order to dissolve the National Assembly

On June 23, 1789, the three orders were summoned to a royal sitting, and the king forbade the discussion of burning topics *e g*, property and privileges of classes, declared the Assembly's decrees of June 17 as unconstitutional and hence annulled, ordered the immediate dissolution of the Assembly and the meeting of the States-General in three separate chambers Most of the nobles and some of the clergy obeyed the royal order, but the Third Estate and most of the lesser clergy led by **Mirabeau,** a noble and statesman who had joined the popular cause, decided to resist the proposal at any cost which would give power to the privileged classes and declared the persons of the members of the Assembly inviolable Louis finding the determined attitude of the Assembly gave way, and asked the remaining nobles and clergies to join the Third Estate Thus the three orders formed a single chamber and finally constituted the National Assembly, establishing its legis-

The attitude of the Third Estate and its ultimate victory

lative supremacy. *This supersession of the authority of the King by that of the Assembly in matters of legislation may be taken to be the first step towards the Revolution.*

Revolutionary Paris:

Disturbances in Paris.

Since the meeting of the States-General, agitation in Paris was increasing daily. The city was suffering from famine and there were bread-riots. The government could not maintain order. 'Political liberty threatened to degenerate rapidly into anarchy'. There was no standard of political organisation or political morality, and there were no able and responsible leaders. In the *cafès* round the Pálais-Royal, the residence of the Duke of Orleans (who was formerly a leader of, but now an instrument in the hands of, the revolutionary men), the mob-leaders of Paris discoursed to excited throngs on the 'Sovereignty of the People, and denounced the enemies of democracy. The whole city was in a state of anarchy. So the 120 Paris-electors who had sent 20 deputies to the National Assembly took upon themselves the government of the city, and proposed to the king to maintain order by raising a body of civic guards, instead of by royal troops as he wished.

The government of Paris assumed by the electors.

Dismissal of Necker and the rising in Paris.

Louis refused to hear these things and at the same time dismissed Necker, the moderate reformer (July 11, 1789). As a result, an excited Paris-mob came into collision with the royal troops, and the French guards of the Royal militia joined the mob. The Paris-electors now organised themselves into a sort of police-force, and other cities imitated Paris. These hastily recruited popular bodies took the name of the famous *'National Guards.'*

Formation of the National Guards.

Fall of the Bastille and its results:

On July 14, 1789, the Paris-mob attacked the Bastille, the ancient state-prison in Paris—*the great monument of Bourbon tyranny*—and after a fight with the royal troops, razed it to the ground. *The fall of the Bastille thus marked the overthrow of the 'ancien regime'.* It established the Sovereignty of the People, as the incident of the 23rd June had established the legislative supremacy of the Assembly.

Storming of the of the Bastille, July 14, 1789.

The king alarmed at the critical state of affairs ordered the withdrawal of royal troops, recalled Necker, declared himself ready to co-operate with the National Assembly in restoring order, and recognised the Paris municipality and the National Guards. Though order was restored for some time in Paris, the cry of liberty soon created tumults in the provinces also. Mayors and municipalities were elected in every city, even in small country towns; and provincial National Guards were organised for self-defence. Thus the People practically usurped the power of the King.

Its results: (*a*) Recall of Necker; (*b*) Paris municipality and National Guard recognised; (*c*) Provincial risings.

The Decrees of 4th August, 1789:

The political supremacy of the People in Paris and the provinces being established, the National Assembly, now the supreme legislative authority in France, wanted to remove the popular grievances by legislation. It decreed the abolition of all privileges relating to subsidies, opened up all offices and dignities which were no longer to be sold, abolished serfdom, *Corvee* and all customary services, reduced the exclusive hunting rights of the king, dissolved the guilds and other close corporations, converted the *Tithes* into money-payments and did away with the old rights of jurisdiction of the

The abolition of feudal privileges and fall of the ancient Regime.

lords. Thus the decrees destroyed the last relics of feudalism in France and *finally terminated the 'ancien regime,'* vindicating the freedom of labour and equality of men in the eye of the law. The day is famous as the '*St. Bartholomew of property*,' but it was rather the '*St Bartholomew of abuses*'.

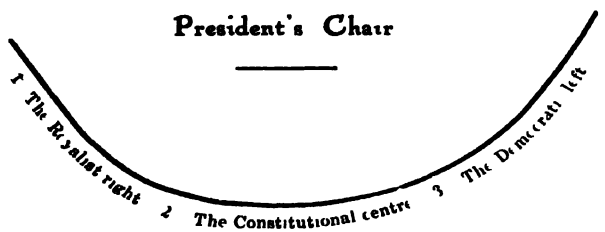
The Revolution and its progress :

A. The Constituent Assembly (Aug. 4 1789—Sept 30, 1791):

Composition of the Assembly :

The Constituent Assembly—why so called?

The National Assembly now took to itself the name of the *Constituent Assembly*," i.e., Assembly "to make the constitution,—perfect constitution, under which the French people might realise their Millennium". The decrees of 4th August having destroyed the old system and having conferred the powers of the Monarchy to the Assembly, the task of founding the new constitution was begun in order to give permanence to the changes already effected. But for want of political experience, the Assembly became divided into three parties with three different principles of government.



The parties in the

(*a*) *The Royalist or reactionary party*, consisting of nobles and higher clergy, the

champions of prerogatives and privileges, who formed the *right* side of the Assembly Constituent Assembly.

(*b*) *The Constitutional or moderate party* composed of few nobles and higher clergy, numerous lower clergies, and deputies of the Third Estate, desirous of a constitutional monarchy but opposed to democratic principles, who sat face to face with the President forming the *centre* of the Assembly *e.g.* Necker, Malóuet, Lally-Toléndal and others ;

(*c*) *The Democratic or National party,* consisting chiefly of democratic deputies, haters of despotism and class-privileges, who formed the *left* side of the *Assembly e.g.* Mirabeau, Lafyétte, Abbé Sieyes, Branavé—moderate democrats ; Petion and Robespierre—extreme democrats and others ;

The *Reactionary right* opposed all the reforms of the Assembly and soon lost its ground. The *Constitutional centre* lost its popularity for its extreme advocacy of constitutional monarchy and its bitter opposition to the democracy. The *Democratic left*, most numerous, led by **Mirabeau** its orator and Abbe Sieyes its legislator, won the hearts of the people by its attempts to establish a free constitution followed by remedial legislations. Thus the *left* got the upper hand in the Assembly. The Democratic party gaining upper hand over the two other parties.

Constitutional labours of the Constituent Assembly :

(*a*) *Declaration of the Rights of Man*—The Assembly now, in imitation of the American Republic, isued the manifesto of the principles of the Revolution which declared that men have natural rights to liberty, property, and security, as also the right to resist tyranny ; that men are born free and equal in their rights ; that 1. The Rights of Man drawn up :

all persons are equal in the eye of the law and have equal right to hold offices if they possess vitrue and talent ; that the Nation is Sovereign and the laws are nothing but expressions of the general will.

2. A single chamber and suspensive veto :

(*b*) *Making of the constitution*—The Assembly, declared for a single-chambered Legislature, elected for two years by all paying direct taxes to the amount of three days' wages. The king and his ministers were to be answerable to it, and the royal veto to be suspensive and not absolute. The executive power was left in the hands of the king who was to remain as the head of the army and the navy and to conduct foreign affairs.

3. Territorial divisions of the country, and their organisation.

(*c*) *Administrative organisation*—The old provinces of France with all their separate privileges and institutions were abolished, and France was divided into 83 *Departments*, equal in extent and population, each again being subdivided into *Districts* which were further divided into *Cantons* and *Communes* (some being large towns and others mere villages). The local and departmental councils were also provided for, the members of which were to be returned by a system of election.

4. Establishment of local courts and other reforms.

(*d*) *Judicial reforms*—Local courts were established in place of the old 'parléments' and the special tribunals of the king, and a court of Appeal set up in Paris ; the varities and complexities of administration of justice in different provinces were abolished ; the rigour of criminal laws was lessenod, and trial by juries was introduced in criminal cases ; the sale of judicial offices was stopped, and judges were elected by active citizens for six years. Thus

France obtained a uniform system of law and justice.

(e) *Financial measures*—To meet the increased financial difficulties various measures were adopted which could not give any permanent relief. At first church property to the value of 400 millions of Franks was decreed to be sold and the municipality of Paris, hoping to make some profit out of the sale, undertook to purchase these properties; but having no ready money, it was allowed by the state to issue '*Assignats*' or inconvertible paper-bonds, realisable only in lands, in proportion to the given amount of church-property. Later on, all the monasteries were dissolved and their properties confiscated.

5. Measures adapted to improve the finances:

The '*Assignats*'.

(f) *Civil Constitution of the Clergy*—The confiscation of all church-property alienated the clergy from the democratic movement. The Assembly further decreed (July, 1790) the civil constitution of the clergy which made them desperate enemies of democratic reforms and led them to kindle a civil war in France. Each of the 83 *Departments* was made into a bishopric The bishops and parish priests were to be elected by the electors of *Departments* and *Districts*. Salaries of the bishops were reduced and all the clergy were required to maintain this new constitution.

6. The new constitution of the church.

Rapid growth of the Republican party:

Since the ascendancy of the *Democratic left* in the Assembly, it has been noticed how the power of the Monarchy was immensely curtailed by the constitutional changes. About this time journalism and clubbism were shaping the ultra-democratic opinions in the country.

The influence of the political clubs.

The object of the clubs of the time were to watch over the conspiracies of the royalists, to keep alive the flame of the Revolution by continued agitation, and to serve as links between the Assembly and the people. The two more famous of them were the *Society of the Cordeliers* and the *Jacobin Club*. Journalists like Brissot, Desmoulins, Marat &c., who formed *the Society of the Cordeliers*, while in words declaring their loyalty to the new constitution were really exciting their discontent against it and making it a difficult task to maintain order. The *Jacobin Club*, with its affiliated societies throughout France, tried at first moderately to give an organisation to the democratic party, but soon fell under the domination of the ultra-democrats.

The Cordelier Society.

The Jacobin club.

Meanwhile riots had become rife in Paris owing to increased scarcity of bread, due to a famine and introduction of free-trade in corn and flour. On October 6, 1789, many thousands of hungry women of Paris, followed by a mob and joined by the National Guards, marched from Paris to Versailles and compelled the king, the queen, and the royal party to return to Paris, fondly believing that bread would be abundant were the king once securely established in their midst. This event literally ruined the Monarchy and the king became practically a prisoner of the mob.

March of the women of Paris to Versailles, and the royal family taken to Paris.

The only man who understood the dangers to which France was now drifting was **Mirabeau.** Though an opponent of the ancient regime, he was a sincere supporter of constitutional monarchy. His aim was to make France socially democratic with a strong monarchical constitution. He now repeatedly urged the king

Mirabeau and his policy.

to leave France to free himself from the control of the mob; but he warned him against encouraging a foreign invasion of France in his support, which would unite the whole country against him. Louis listened to his advice but too late. When Necker resigned office in Sept. 1790, Mirabeau could not enter the ministry as a law had been passed by the Assembly forbidding any of its members to hold office in the court during its session; but he continued to defend the Monarchy, according to an understanding between him and the court. However the last hope of the French monarchy perished with his death on April 2, 1791. Unrivalled as an orator and endowed with a deep political insight, Mirabeau assisted the Revolution with his daring in its trials Though his moral character was not on a par with his abilities, undoubtedly he was a 'hero' of his age, as Carlyle speaks of him.

Mirabeau and the king.

His relations with the court.

His death and character.

The death of Mirabeau greatly weakened the king's position and made him almost helpless. So, on the night of June 20, 1791, the king with his family left Paris in disguise to fly from France; but he was arrested next day on his way, brought back to Paris amidst the reproachful silence of the mob, and was suspended and imprisoned.

Flight and capture of Louis XVI.

The most advanced section of the *Jacobins* like Robespierre, Piteon, Marat, &c., now held, that the king had forfeited his crown by his flight and demanded either a new ruler or Republic. But the constitutionalists were not prepared to sacrifice the constitution which had been built up with so much labour, and by employment of force at Champ-de-Mars released the king from the hands of the mob and the

Revision of the constitution and the king's acceptance.

Louis XVI re-instated.

ultra-democrats; they reinstated him on his formal acceptance of the constitution (Sept. 14, 1791). Thus revising the constitution, the Constituent Assembly declared itself dissolved (Sept. 30, 1791), and the constitutionalists henceforth came to be looked down upon by the people.

Attitude of the European States:

Cause of anxiety in the European states.

The democratic propaganda of the Revolution as embodied in the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man' was a protest against the principles on which the governments of other states were founded. Many of the crowned heads of Europe were allied with the royal family of France and their sufferings attracted much sympathy. The kings of Spain, Naples and Sardinia were anxious to help Louis XVI. The Emperor of Austria and the Elector of Cologne were brothers of Marie Antoinette. Again, several of the German princes who were affected by the abolition of the feudal rights in Alsace by the Assembly claimed redress from the Diet which called upon the Emperor to take practical steps. The French emigrant nobles established a sort of court at Coblentz and implored the chief courts of the continent to restore the old regime in France. Catharine II of Russia to obtain a free hand in Poland encouraged Gustavus III of Sweden to help them. Emperor Leopold, brother of Queen Marie Antoinette, anxious for the safety of his unhappy sister, had held a conference with king Frederick William II of Prussia and issued the *Declaration of Pilnitz* (Aug. 27, 1791) stating that the position of the French king was a matter of European concern and required an

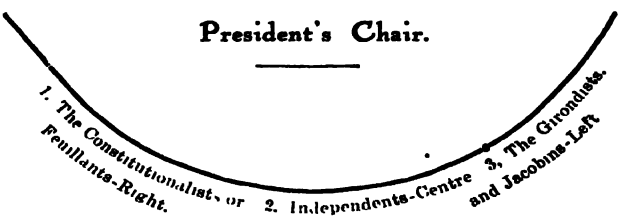
The Declaration of Pilnitz, 1791.

active intervention of the great powers on behalf of him. The declaration however had the effect of deepening the sense of hatred of the 'Republicans' in France, though it could not terrify them at all.

B. The Legislative Assembly (Oct. 1, 1791—Sept. 21, 1792):

Composition of the Assembly:

The new Assembly which was elected after the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly (Oct. 1, 1791) consisted of no partisans of the old monarchy and privileged classes. It contained 745 members, all men without experience. Burke calls it a 'dominion of pleaders' as there were 300 lawyers, and 70 journalists in it.



The parties in the assembly.

(*a*) *The Constitutionalists or Feuillants* as they were called, occupied the *right* and were close adherents of the constitution. But this party was out-matched by the *left*.

(*b*) The *left* was divided into two sections, the *Girondists* and the *Jacobins*. The *Girondists*, so called from the district of Gironde from which several of their leaders were returned, had a theoretic aversion to the monarchical govern-

ment and had strong faith in revolution. Their guiding-spirit was Madame Roland. Their famous orator Vergniaud, philosopher Condorcet, veteran journalist Brissot, and calm and determined Petion, by virtue of superior intellectual gifts gave an ascendancy to their party. The *Jacobins*, (later known as the *Mountains* from the raised seats they occupied) though fervent democrats, were as yet less numerous and less reputed than the *Girondists*, but had the support of the famous *Jacobin* club with **Robespierre** at its head and backed up by the demagogues and mob of Paris.

(c) The *Independent centre* consisting of 200 members oscillated between the *right* and the *left*, eager to maintain the throne but at the same time afraid of giving a hearty support to the executive or of taking strong measures to check the revolutionary movement. Their votes were the great objects of the various party-leaders.

Measures of the Legislative Assembly:

Edicts against the emigrants and the non-juring priests.

The emigrants, including the king's brother, who were trying to organise a foreign invasion of France, were ordered to return to France on pain of being condemned to death and confiscation of property. All priests who had not accepted the 'Civil Constitution of the Clergy' were to be deprived of pensions and to be removed from their districts for any disturbance in it. The king accepted the decree against his brother only, but vetoed those against other emigrant nobles and the non-juring bishops. The *Girondists* and the *Jacobins* seized this opportunity for a fresh attack upon the king.

War against Austria and Prussia, and Fall of the Monarchy:

The *Declaration of Pilnitz* by Austro-Prussia, and the open preparations of French emigrant nobles in the neighbouring states against their own country turned the national enthusiasm in the direction of the war; besides, the *Girondists* believed that a war with the sovereigns of Europe would overthrow the Monarchy. Frightened at this rapid growth of the war-party in France, Emperor Leopold concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the Prussian king (Feb. 1792) and permitted his minister, **Kaunitz,** to send a despatch to Paris abusing the war-party leaders and advising the French nation to deliver itself from its influence. Such an uncalled-for interference of Austria in the affairs of France added fuel to the fire. *'La Marseillaise'* was composed and began to be sung by crowds of Frenchmen. The *Girondists* came into office and began to direct the war-affairs of France. Meanwhile Leopold had died, and his successor Francis II, under the influence of the anti-revolutionary party, now sent an imperial force towards the frontier. So the Assembly, in spite of the opposition of **Robespierre** and the leading *Jacobins,* declared war against Austria (April 1792). An attack on Belgium by the French army, however, failed, and they were defeated by the Austrians combined with the Prussians.

Outbreak of the Revolutionary war and its causes.

Failure of the French troops.

Again, the manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, the Prussian commander-in-chief, threatening Paris with military execution in case of any harm to the royal family of France roused the French to the greatest fury; people began to suspect the king in league with foreign

Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick reviving hostility to the crown.

Invasion of the Tuileries and the insurrection of Aug. 10, 1792 :

despots, and on Aug. 10, 1792 a mob, which had failed to carry out an insurrection formerly in June, marched against the Tuileries, the royal palace. Louis took shelter with the Assembly which was now at the mercy of the mob of Paris. The king was suspended, and National Convention was summoned to revise the constitution ; and Robespierre and Danton became the guiding spirits of the *Commune of Paris* which usurped all the functions of the government. *Thus the insurrection of Aug. 10, 1792 marks the fall of the Monarchy in France.*

Suspension of Louis XVI.

Prussian advance to Verdun.

Taking advantage of the disorders in Paris, the Prussians advanced and took *Verdun* which caused great excitement. The *Jacobins* now undertook the defence of the country out of the hands of the Assembly, and to paralyse the reactionary party in Paris committed frightful atrocities known as the *'September Massacres.'* The war, however, had now become a war of defence and the Republican French recruits defeated the Prussians at *Valmy* in spite of their brisk cannonading. This French victory decided the campaign and the allies retreated.

The September Massacres.

Battle of Valmy, Sept. 20, 1792.

CHAPTER II.

The First Republic in France.

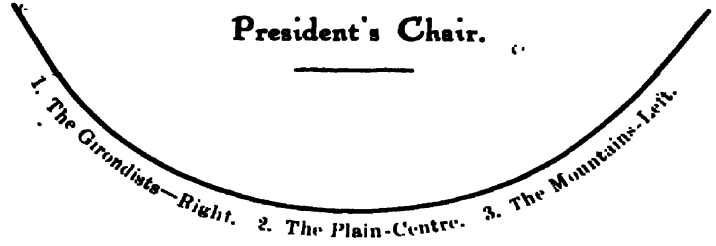
A. The National Convention (Sept. 21. 1792—Oct. 26, 1795):

Declaration of the Republic:

On the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly, the National Convention met on Sept. 21, 1792. It was summoned to draft a new constitution in consequence of the suspension of the Monarchy. Since its first meeting, however, an irreconcilable hostility broke out between the *Girondists* and the *Mountains*. The *Girondists* who were as a body learned, brilliant, and eloquent, wished to form an orderly government and to found the Republic on the political virtue and public spirit of the mass after curbing the power of the Paris mob and the *Communes* which had cast a bloody stain on the sacred name of 'Liberty'. The *Mountains* (so called from the top benches they occupied in the *left*), who were fierce and restless, hoped to set up the Republic on the active support of the mob and were eager to sacrifice 'Liberty' to save France from the foreigners. Hence the *Girondists* were now the party of moderation and order in the Convention and occupied the *right* side, while the *Mountains* sat on the *left* of the Assembly. The *Girondists* had as their leaders Vergniaud, Brissot, Roland and others, and the leaders of the

Party quarrels between the *Girnode* and the *Mountain*.

Mountains were Rebespierre, Danton, Marat and others. The deputies sitting in the *centre*, called the *Plain*, followed a temporising policy between the above two parties and voted with the one or the other. The *Constitutional royalists* had now no place in this Assembly.



Establishment of the Republic.

The first act of the Convention was to abolish the monarchy and declare France a Republic. A decree was passed asking all officers to be re-elected, and all unrepealed laws were allowed to stand. A committee was next appointed to consider a new constitution.

Foreign Policy of the Convention :

French attempt to spread revolutionary propaganda in other countries.

The French victory over the Prussians at *Valmy* followed by a repulse of the Austrians from the walls of Lillé saved France from immediate chances of invasion from without. The French now desired to spread the principles of the Revolution far beyond the frontiers of France in order to effect a general rising of the *People* in other European countries against the *Kings*. In their desire to fight the battle of European freedom, the Convention issued a proclamation offering assistance to all discontented subjects of various governments who were desirous of securing their freedom. France now adopted a policy of aggression and her

armies occupied Savoy and Nice, invaded Saxony, advanced to the Rhine, and conquered the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) at the battle of *Jemmappes*. The passing of a new decree by the Convention (Dec. 1792) compelling all territories occupied by the French to accept the French republican system of government alarmed all Europe. The Convention had also ordered the free navigation of the Scheldt which by an European arrangement was closed to commerce. This infringed the rights of England's allies and, combined with other causes, changed the attitude of England towards the Revolution into a bitter hatred.

French aggressions in Savoy and Germany: conquest of Belgium.

Execution of Louis XVI and its Effects.

The *Girondists*, though nominally holding office, could not however assert themselves before the *Mountains* whose vehement spirit really guided the foreign policy of the Convention. The *Mountains* had made the wars a 'crusade of democracy', and they now demanded the trial of king Louis XVI, a prisoner since the fall of the Monarchy. For fear of a civil war with the *Mountains*, the *Girondists* joined with them, tried the king, and voted for his death. On Jan. 21, 1793, Louis XVI was guillotined. 'Let us,' said Danton, 'cast down before Europe, as the gauntlet of battle, the head of a king': and the gauntlet was actually taken up by the European Powers.

Trial and execution of Louis, Jan. 21, 1793.

The execution of the king roused a storm of indignation all over Europe and hastened the rupture with England. The English minister, **Pitt the Younger**, departed from his pacific policy and was powerfully supported by Burke who now formally deserted the Whigs. The

Result of the execution

European coalition against France.

Convention was already at war with Austria and Prussia, and war had to be declared early in 1793 against England, Holland and Spain. Soon France had to face the first coalition of all the great states of Europe, except Russia which was also unfriendly. The French were defeated at *Neerwinden* (March, 1793); their general Dumouriez, desirious of restoring the Monarchy, deserted to the Austrians, and France was invaded from all quarters.

French defeat.

Fall of the Girondists:

Renewal of party conflicts in Paris.

The defeat and treason of Dumouriez increased the party-struggle at Paris, and the *Girondists* and the *Mountains* tried to accuse each other of being the traitor's accomplices. Marat began to instigate the mob against the *Girondists* whose heads were demanded. At the same time, the revolt of the peasants of La Vendée against the revolutionary government broke out, and the Austrians and the English were attacking the northern frontier of France. Placed between two fires, a *Committee of Public Safety* consisting of nine members was appointed (April 6, 1793) with dictatorial power to supervise over the administration. The *Girondists* accused Marat before the revolutionary tribunal but he was acquitted amidst the applause of the mob. **Robespierre** and Danton were also alienated and they also directed the popular fury against the *Girondist* leaders. At last on May 31, 1793 an angry mob invaded the Convention and two days later, thirty-one leading members of the *Girondists* were arrested. The victory of the *Mountains* thus became complete.

Rising in La Vendée.

Creation of the Committee of Public Safety.

Fall of the *Gironde*, June 2, 1793.

The Reign of Terror (June 2, 1793—July 27, 1794):

The fall of the *Girondists* made the situation in France dangerous. The *Royalists* in Lyons and Toulon held out and the revolt in La Vendée became formidable. Most of the imprisoned deputies escaped and incited the *Departments* to take up arms against the tyrranical supremacy of Paris. France was thus in the midst of a civil war. A young Norman girl, Charlotte Corday, an admirer of the Girondist ideal of Republic, murdered blood-thirsty Marat, the atrecious enemy of the *Girondists*. To add to the difficulties of the situation the English and the Austrians took *Condé* and *Valenciennes*, Prussia recovered the territories captured by France in Germany, Spain defeated France at the *Pyrenees*, the Piedmontese invaded France from the Alps border, and England declared the blockade of the French ports. To tide over the crisis the *Mountains* determined to take the most drastic measures and rule by terror.

Provincial revolts.

Murder of Marat.

Military reverses of the French.

The Great Committee of Public Safety and its Measures:

The *Mountains* under the leadership of **Robespierre**, Carnot &c. created the *Great Committee of Public Safety*, with twelve members, which became the ruling power in the state. To meet the external dangers, the committee raised a compulsory loan from the rich, decreed a *levie-en-masse* or general conscription and entrusted Carnot with the control of the war: the English general Duke of York was forced to raise the siege of Dunkirk, while the Austrians were defeated by the French at *Wattignies*

(*a*) Measures to prosecute the war vigourously.

(Sept. 1793); the French next forced the invaders to retire on the Rhine. The internal rebellions were also suppressed during the year at Lyons and other *Departments*; Toulon surrendered to Napoleon Bonaparte; the army of La Vendée was defeated and its people were given up to a military execution. To meet the anti-revolutionary elements in the state two laws were passed; by the *'Law of Suspects'* those who in any way favoured the Monarchy or federalism were to be imprisoned until the peace, while the *'Law of Maximum'* fixed the prices of corn and other necessaries of life to avert the famine and made the hoarding of provisions punishable with death. A 'Revolutionary tribunal' was also set up to try and speedily despatch the 'suspects', who were being imprisoned in large numbers. The bloody work was begun and about 3000 persons were guillotined, including the captive queen Marie Antoinette, the 21 deputies of the *Girondists* with *Vergniaud* at their head, the despicable Duke of Orleans, and Madame Roland the inspirer of the *Girondists*, in the midsst of the delightful ejaculations of *'Vive la Republique'* by the mob. To complete the separation with the Royalist past, the old Christian calendar was abolished and a new revolutionary calendar instituted, with new names for the months according to the divisions of the seasons in the year (*e.g.* Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor indicating the summer months and corresponding to June, July, August of the Christian calendar &c.) and the era beginning from Sept. 22, 1792, the date of the birth of the new Republic.

(b) Measures to suppress the anti-revolutionary elements:

Execution of Marie Antoinette, Oct. 16, 1793.

(c) Measures to sweep away the Royalist institutions.

The Split in the Mountains:

The *Mountains* divided into three parties.

But such a 'Rule of Terror' could not long satisfy the party of the Terror itself, and a split of the *Mountains*, became inevitable in the autumn of 1793. The *Dantonists* did not think it necessary to shed any further blood when the country was saved from foreign and domestic foes; the *Hebertists* (the party of Marat), the most radical section of the *Mountains*, despised Catholicism as aristocratic, denied the existence of a personal God and the immortality of the soul, and wanted to introduce a worship of Reason; the *party of Robespierre* and his young follower St. Just, however, steered a middle course between them. ROBESPIERRE, still supreme in the *Jacobin Club* and the *Great Committee of Public Safety*, first allied with the Dantonists and got Hebert and his associates arrested and executed for their irreligious excesses (March, 1794); Danton and his friends were next sent to prison for their moderation (April, 1794).

Inauguration of the worship of Reason, Nov. 10, 1793.

Fall of Hebert and Danton—Robespierre's triumph.

Fall of Robespierre, and an Estimate of him:

Introduction of the worship of the Supreme Being.

Robespierre was now supreme, and the *Great Committee of Public Safety* began to exercise dictatorial powers. The 'Reign of Terror' continued with increasing severity, and Terror was reduced to a system. Robespierre now sought to assert the necessity of spiritual belief in place of the worship of Reason, and under his inspiration the Convention decreed that the French recognised a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul, (June 7, 1794). Immediately after, the Revolutionary tribunal was re-organised, and Robespierre induced the Convention to pass an infamous law on June 10,

The Reign of Terror at its height.

1794 by which no proof was required to punish a man with death except a 'moral' conviction of the jurors and no punishment could be inflicted by the court except death. Soon the weight of the Reign of Terror became intolerable and in course of seven weeks thirteen hundred and seventy-six persons were guillotioned at Paris and upwards of five thousand in the provinces. An opposition to Robespierre was organised. On the 9th of Thermidor (July 27, 1794) Robespierre and his adherents were arrested under a decree of the Convention and executed the next day.

Opposition to Robespierre, his arrest and execution.

Historians differ on their estimate of **Robespierre.** Some paint him in the blackest colour and associate him with the worst excesses of the Revolution, while others sing their panegyrics on him. To be just, we must unhesitatingly say, though a man of mediocre abilities possessing a shallow intellect and a narrow mind, Robespierre had a vast design in life—'the reign of Reason by the medium of democracy.' For this reason he struggled hard sacrificing his youth, his legal profession, his repose, his happiness, and even his life. For his honesty and thirst after the Truth he gained the admiration of all. Though not endowed with the statesman-like capacity of Mirabeau or the practical instincts of Danton, Robespierre was certainly a betetr man than Marat, Hebert &c., and in certain respects than Danton even. Schooled in the doctrines of Rousseau and "intoxicated with the perspective of public felicity," he "desired to extirpate, with the iron blade, all the ill-growing roots of the social soil" and thus allowed his name to be identified with the 'Reign of Terror.' He did not desire evil,

Estimate of Robespierre.

Reason of his failure.

and yet accepted it. He "opened the veins of the social body to cure the disease" and hence he failed. Lámartine in his *History of the Girondists* remarks that in this revolutionary age in France 'men were born like the instantaneous personification of things which should think, speak, or act: Voltaire, good sense; Rousseau, the ideal; Condorcet, calculation; Mirabeau, impetuousity; Vergniaud, impulse; Danton, audacity; Marat, fury; Madame Roland, enthusiasm; Charlotte, vengence; Robespierre, Utopia; Saint-Just, the fanaticism of the Revolution."

The Thermidorian Reaction (July 27, 1794—Oct. 26, 1795):

Reaction against the Reign of Terror.

(*a*) *The Reaction*—With the fall of Robespierre began a reaction in favour of peace and order. Every class of the French people, except the starving city mob, now longed for security and quiet routine of life, after a year of frightful atrocities. The *Great Committee of Public Safety* came into contempt and its functions were restricted; the Revolutionary tribunal was suspended; the Law of Maximum was abolished and the *Jacobin Club* was suspended (Dec. 1794). The Convention restored the liberty of the press, granted amnesty to the Vendéeans, and allowed the expelled *Girondists* to return to their seats in the Convention. The Convention now began to rule in accordance with the moderate opinion of the majority of the public, and the Reign of Terror came to an end.

(*b*) *The Course of the War*—A change had also come in the military history of France. Since the entrustment of the war to Carnot, the revolutionary army had been able to carry the war into enemy's territory. Prussia had with-

French victories and conquests in 1794.

drawn from the war to look after her own interests in Poland, and the Austrians being defeated by the French at *Fleuras* (1794) Belgium was occupied by France. French general Pichegru conquered Holland; on the side of Piedmont and the Pyrenees the French were also successful. Thus by the year 1794, besides Savoy and Nice, France conquered Belgium, Holland, Germany left of the Rhine, a part of Piedmont, and Northern Spain. These victories led to the disruption of the coalition of the powers, and as the Thermidorians had no mind to continue the war any further, Prussia, Spain, and other states except England and Austria concluded peace with France at *Basel* (1795) on such terms as they could obtain.

Peace of Basel, 1795.

(c) *Completion of the Constitution*—Meanwhile, the Convention drew up a new constitution, which task remained neglected since it had been summoned. Unlike the constitution of 1791, the Executive was made independent of the Legislature. The Legislature was to consist of two chambers—(1) Council of Ancients, men over forty years of age, (2) Council of Five Hundred, one-third of whose members to be elected every year. The Executive was entrusted in a Directory of five persons elected by the Ancients out of a list drawn up by the Five Hundred—one to retire each year and the new one to be elected by the Legislature; the Directors to have no seats in the Legislative assemblies. This constitution of the Year III, as it was called, was generally accepted save by the Royalists who made a new rising in Paris; but the skill and iron resolution of a young artillery officer, **Napoleon Bonaparte**, overcame their resistance. On Oct. 26, 1795, the

The Constitution of the Year III, or 1795.

Rising against the convention crushed by Napoleon.

Convention was dissolved and the new constitution came into operation

B. The Directory (Oct. 1795-Nov. 99) : Its Earlier Plans :

In Oct. 1795, the five Directors, most of whom were honest republicans and men of character, came into office. They tried to set at right the credit of the state by issuing a new paper-money representing a fixed amount of public-lands, called *'Territorial Mandates,'* in order to replace the *'Assignats'* which had no value. Agriculture and industry were revived ; the *Commune of Paris* was abolished and order and peace were restored within France. To signalise its accession to power, the Directory extended the foreign wars of the Republic. Carnót, one of the Directors, planned a grand attack on Austria, one of the two remaining enemies of France. Three young generals Jourdan, Moreau, and Napoleon were directed to invade Vienna, the Austrian capital, and Italy.

Plans for the domestic administration.

Plans for foreign invasions.

Early Career of Napoleon, and his Campaigns in Italy :

Born in Corsica (Aug. 15, 1769), shortly after the annexation of that island to France, Napoleon became a French citizen. Educated at the military school of Paris, he joined the Army at the age of seventeen and within nine years distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon. As commander of artillery, he made France mistress of the Alps (1794), and gained special distinctions crushing the royalist insurrection of the 13th Vendémiaire (Oct. 5, 1795) by his able volleys of grape-shots. He was next made commander-in-chief of the Army

Napoleon's early military campaigns.

of the Interior and his career for talent was opened.

His campaigns in Italy.

Sent by Carnot to attack Italy (1796), he had to face an army of the enemy twice as large of his own. Encouraging his own soldiers, he quickly reached Turin and compelled the Sardinians to sue for peace by the cession of Savoy and Nice. He then drove the Austrians out of Lombardy after the hard-fought battle of *Lodi*, and besieged Mantua. The Austrians tried their best to recover their position but were repeatedly defeated at *Arcola and Rivoli*. *Mantua* fell and Napoleon, now master of Italy, crossed the Alps in order to march upon Vienna. This sudden move frightened the Austrian Emperor Francis II, who concluded the *Treaty of Campo-Formio* (1797). By this treaty Austria ceded Belgium to France, recognised the Cisalpine and the Ligurian Republics in Italy which had been created by Napoleon out of Lombardy and Genoa and made dependent on France, and obtained in exchange Venice and her territories in Istria and Dalmatia which had been conquered by France during the war.

Peace of Campo-Formio, 1797.

Napoleon now on his return to France came to be regarded as a hero by the Frenchmen, and became the central figure in European politics.

Napoleon and the Coup d'etat of Fructidor:

Coupdétat of the 18th Fructidor.

At home, a royalist reaction had begun against the Directory, and Napoleon's treatment of Venice and Genoa was being questioned in the Chambers in as much as new systems of government had been imposed in those countries completely ignoring the wishes of the

people, which was in contravention to the essential principles of the Revolution. Napoleon sent his general Augurean to crush the royalist faction by the *Coup d'état* of 18th Fructidor (Sept. 4, 1797). One Director was arrested and another, Carnót, fled ; some members of the councils were exiled ; liberty of press was suspended and the party of the *'ancien regime'* was crushed for ever ; the Directory thus became supreme.

Napoleon's Expedition to Egypt :

Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign.

The Directory had been able to humble all the enemies of France except England, and it now sanctioned the plan of Napoleon to attack England in Egypt—the key to the East—and thus to destroy her commerce. In May, 1798, Napoleon sailed from Toulon, seized Malta on the way, escaping the English fleet captured Alexandria, and won the *Battle of the Pyramids* which made him master of the basin of the Nile. But his dream of a permanent occupation of the country vanished with the destruction of the French fleet by the English Admiral **Nelson** at the *Battle of the Nile* which entirely cut off Napoleon and his whole army from Europe. He then planned the siege of Acre, but the affairs at home led him to return to France.

Victory of Nelson.

The Second European Coalition, and the Overthrow of the Directory by Napoleon :

Second coalition against France.

During Napoleon's absence in Egypt, a second formidable coalition of European powers had been formed by **Pitt the Younger** against France. Turkey whose province of Egypt had been attacked, had entered into alliance with England, and Austria and Russia backed by English gold had renewed the war. The

French disasters in 1799.

French defeat at *Novi* led to the loss of Italy, and Malta was blockaded by the English (1799). The plan of the Austro-Russians upon France was though foiled by Massena at ***Zurich***, France could not maintain her victorious position on the continent.

Discontent in France.

The Directory became discredited at home for its feeble foreign policy, and want of harmony was noticeable in it as well as in the councils. Abbé Sieyés, the leader of the moderate republicans, was now on the look-out for a "chief" who would protect the Republic without being its oppressor, and when Napoleon returned from Egypt he was welcomed with delight in France. Napoleon came to an understanding with Sieyés and carried out the *Coup d'état* of 18th Brumaire (Nov. 9, 1799) as a result of which the Directory was suppressed, the council of Five Hundred ejected and a provisional Consulate consisting of Bonaparte, Sieyés, and Ducos was appointed to revise the constitution and to conduct the government. *The Revolution now passed into its last phase,* and Napoleon was now clearly on the way to absolute power in France.

Napoleon's return from Egypt.

Coup d'état of the 18th Brumaire.

C. The Consulate (Nov. 1799—May 1804) :

Constitution of the year VIII :

Constitution of the Year VIII, as framed by the provisional Consulate.

The provisional *Consulate* of three men now took up the task of determining the form of government ; and Sieyes ably drew up a constitution which gave France the needed strong Executive.

(*a*) The *Executive* was entrusted to three Consuls appointed by the Senate for ten years, of whom the First Consul was to have the power

of making peace and war, of appointing ministers, ambassadors, and other officers, as well as of promulgating laws ; the Second and Third Consuls to have a mere "consultative voice" ;

(*b*) A *Council of State,* named by the First Consul, was to draft all laws to be presented to a *Tribunate* of 100 members for mere discussion but not for alteration or rejection ; a *Legislative Body* of 300 men was to finally adopt or reject the laws by a secret ballot without any debate ; The *Senate* of 80 life-members was to annul or confirm the measures referred to it by the Legislature, and to choose the Legislators, the Tribunes, and the Consuls. The *Electoral system* was based on the principle of universal suffrage.

Defects in the constitution.

The Legislature being divided into two Chambers,—the *Tribunate* and the *Legislative Body*—none possessing the right of initiation but both being hemmed in by the Council of State and the conservative Senate, its power was almost nil. Moreover none of these two chambers had any popular foundation: the Senate created itself, and the *Tribunate* and the *Legislative Body* were mere creations of the Senate. On the other hand, the Executive was strongly organised, and all real authority being concentrated in a single man, it turned out to be the despotism of the one in a decent disguise.

Napoleon the First consul.

This constitution came into operation from the X'mas day of 1799 with Napoleon as the First Consul.

Internal Administration of the Consulate:

Napoleon, while treating sympathetically with all elements hostile to him and the

Internal government of France under the Consulate.

Republic, steadily began to centralise the authority of the First Consul. He founded five separate tribunals to interfere with the course of ordinary justice and purged the *Tribunate* and the *Legislative Body* of elements hostile to his despotic measures. The Districts were replaced by *Arrondissements* with larger areas, and many smaller Communes were revived, while the *Departments* were preserved. The duty of administration was confined to the prefects, sub-prefects, and mayors in the departments, the arrondissements, and communies, all these posts being filled by the nominees of the First Consul. Thus all autonomy disappeared.

Reconciliation with the Church.

By the *Condordat* of 1801 signed between the Pope and the First Consul, the schism in the church created by the Civil constitution of the Clergy was removed. Catholicism again became the state-religion in France and Napoleon made a political use of it by subordinating the clergy to the state, who became its willing vassals.

The Civil Code.

The admirable *'Code Napoleon'* cast the civil laws of France into systematic form, which henceforth became the basis of the civic rights of the French. It came into operation from 1805.

Constitution of Year X.

By a *plebiscite* (May, 1802) Napoleon was elected First Consul for life with power to nominate his successor. The powers of the *Senate* were increased by the Constitution of Year X (Aug. 1802) but it could not henceforth meet without the summons of the First Consul, and the *Tribunate* lost its importance.

Birth of a new aristocracy.

A 'Legion of Honour' of 6000 members, civilians and soldiers, was founded with the First Consul at its head, forming the basis of a new aristocracy.

Primary instruction was left in the hands of the Communes; secondary instruction was promoted and six law schools and a military academy were established. Study of living languages and of History and Philosophy were suppressed as incompatible with despotism. Education.

Thus administration of law and justice being remodelled after his will, the church and education being controlled, and himself being elected the First Consul for life, and a new body of official aristocracy devoted to him being formed, Napoleon became a despotic monarch though not in name. Despotism of Napoleon.

Foreign Relations:

In spite of his pacific assurances at the commencement of the Consulate, circumstances led Bonaparte to resume hostilities against Austria and England. The English minister, **Pitt the Younger,** refused to make peace with France until she withdrew within her former frontiers and re-established the ancient monarchy; Austria also declined to come to an understanding on the basis of the Treaty of Campo-Formio. So Napoleon sent Moreau to invade Austria, and himself proceeded to conquer the Austrian possessions in Italy. Renewal of hostilities against Austria and England.

Napoleon's Italian Campaign (1800):

After a successful march through the Great St. Bernard's Pass, he crushed the Austrian army at *Marengo*. This victory gave him the command of all the upper valley of the Po. Moreau on the other hand inflicted a crushing defeat on the Austrians at *Hohenlinden*, and threatened Vienna. Emperor Francis II was compelled to make the *Peace of Luneville* (Feb. 1801) by which France secured the left bank of Campaign and battle of Marengo.

Peace of Luneville, 1801.

the Rhine and recovered her old Italian possessions; the independence of the Batavian and Helvetic Republics were recognised; Tuscany was transferred to the Duke of Parma; and the minor German states were placed at the mercy of the French Republic.

Napoleon's Plans against England:

Armed neutrality of the Northern Powers.

After the Peace of Luneville, England alone stood out against the First Consul. Now, Czar Paul I of Russia, angry at the refusal of England to surrender Malta to the Knights of St. John, also revived the *Armed Neutrality of the Northern Powers* (originally formed by Catharine II of Russia and Frederick the Great of Prussia in 1780) and was joined by Sweden, Denmark and Prussia to resist by force the English right to search all vessels suspected of carrying enemy goods on the sea. Napoleon was also invited to join it. England, to maintain her maritime supremacy, sent Nelson to the Baltic who by a successful *bombardment of Copenhagen* compelled Denmark to withdraw from the league. The death of Paul I, however, led to the dissolution of the 'Armed Neutrality' (July 1801) and the Northern Powers became again friends of England.

Bombardment of Copenhagen.

Affairs in Egypt.

The only obstacle in the way of peace between France and England was the war in Egypt. The English victory of Abercromby at *Aboukir*, the surrender of the French garrison at *Cairo*, and the evacuation of Egypt by the French (Sept. 1801) removed that obstacle. The *Peace of Amiens* was now concluded (March, 1802) between England and France, by which France agreed to evacuate Naples and the Papal States; Egypt to revert to the Porte, Malta to the Knights of St. John; and England

Peace of Amiens, 1802.

to restore all conquests except Trinidad and Ceylon. But this was a mere truce, and war broke out between them shortly after.

Napoleon proclaimed Emperor :

During the interval of peace, Napoleon began to follow an aggressive policy on the continent as may be seen from his annexations of the island of Elba, Piedmont, Parma and Piacenza. He also secularised the clerical states of Germany and suppressed 14 Free cities of the Empire ; the Helvetic Republic was replaced by a Swiss confederation of 19 cantons, each enjoying sovereign power and equal rights without any right to conclude alliances with foreign powers or amongst themselves. The natural consequence of this policy of Napoleon was the renewal of the war with England and Europe.

Napoleon's despotism on the continent.

The renewal of the English war supplied opportunities to the Royalists for a Bourbon restoration. A plot for overthrowing Napoleon was concerted, but it was discovered and its authors were condemned to death. Bonaparte now with his Corsican spirit of revenge became eager to spill the blood of the family supposed to aim at his life and power, and Duke of Enghién, son of the Prince Condé, a Bourbon, was arrested in Germany and after a hasty trial was shot. All Europe stood aghast at this blackest deed—a guilt for which Napoleon can hardly be excused.

Plot against Napoleon.

Murder of Duke of Enghien.

Bonaparte however profited out of the plot by attaining his grand design : the *Tribunate* and the *Senate* proclaimed him Emperor of the French (May 18, 1804) and hereditary succession was affirmed. All forms of republican equality now vanished.

Napoleon declared Emperor of the French, 1804.

CHAPTER III.

Europe in the Napoleonic Regime.

The Empire in France (1804-15) :

Napoleon and the Administrative Organs of the Empire :

The first Empire and its constitution.

The French Republic being now changed into a monarchy, all authority became vested in the Emperor. The *Senate*, though next in authority, was practically subservient to the Emperor. The *Tribunate* gradually vanished (1807). The *Legislative* body was to discuss legislative proposals in close committes only. The importance of the *Council of State* increased and it was presided over either by the Emperor himself or by a Grand Dignitary, usually the Arch-Chancellor or the Arch-Treasurer.

Napoleon and the Sister-Republics :

The sister Republics became kingdoms.

The so-called 'freedom' of the sister-republics was suppressed. The Batavian Republic changed itself into the kingdom of Holland and accepted Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, as king ; the Cisalpine Republic became the kingdom of Italy and Napoleon became its king (May, 1805). The Ligurian Republic was incorporated into France, and Lucca was formed into a principality for Napoleon's sister Elisa and her husband.

Renewed War with England, and the Third European Coalition:

The war between England and France was renewed in May, 1803 on the refusal of England to evacute Malta to the Knights of St. John as arranged by the Peace of Amiens, for England considered the retention of Malta necessary to check French ambition in Egypt and in Greece. Bonaparte occupied Hanover and Naples, threatened to invade England, and compelled Spain to join him. England also enlisted 300,000 volunteers for defence, and her Prime Minister, **Pitt the Younger**, formed the Third European coalition with Russia, Austria, and Sweden (April 1805), to force France to return within her ancient limits, promising to pay an annual subsidy to the members of the coalition. Prussia only remained neutral.

Formation of the third coalition against France.

Meanwhile the combined fleets of France and Spain under the French Admiral Villenuve were defeated off *Cape Finistere* by an English fleet under Admiral Calder and took shelter at Cadiz. But when they again put to the sea, another English fleet under Admiral **Nelson** defeated and destroyed them off *Trafalgar* (Oct. 21, 1805). In the hour of triumph Nelson was killed, but he saved England from the danger of French invasion by utterly destroying the maritime power of France. England henceforth remained the mistress of the sea and began obstinately to resist French ambition on the continent.

Campaign of 1805; Trafalgar;

Napoleon's attack upon Austria:

On receiving the news of the Third coalition, Napoleon's Grand Army entered Germany, compelled the Austrian General to capitulate

at *Ulm*, pushed on towards Vienna, and completely defeated the Austrians and Russians at *Austerlitz* (Dec. 1805). This victory of Napoleon was a fatal blow to the coalition. By the *Treaty of Pressburg* with Austria, France obtained Venice which became incorporated with Italy, and Tyrol was ceded to Bavaria whose ruler as well as of Wurtemburg received the title of king.

Treaty of Pressburg.

Napoleon's Policy in Germany, and the Confederation of the Rhine:

Nepoleon now planned to dissolve the Empire and to form a confederation of the lesser states of Germany under the protection of France, excluding the two great powers, *viz.* Austria and Prussia, from leadership in Germany. In July 1806, Baden, Bavaria, Wurtemburg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Berg, and nine other smaller states were formed into the *Confederation of the Rhine* under the protectorate of France; the federal Diet was arranged to meet at Frankfort. The knights and the lesser tenants-in-chief of the empire were not recognised, and their states were absorbed in the larger provinces in which they were situated. Napoleon was declared Protector, and the Confederation and the French Empire became bound by an alliance to assist each other in any continental war.

The Confederation of the Rhine.

The imperial dignity was then formally resigned by Emperor Francis II, who henceforth became Francis I, Emperor of Austria. ***Thus the Holy Roman Empire came finally to an end, after an existence of more than thousand years,*** (Aug. 6, 1806).

End of the Holy Roman Empire.

Napoleon's War against Prussia :

Since the Treaty of Basle in 1795, Prussia had been neutral, but after Napoleon's brilliant victory of Austerlitz, she entered into an alliance with France by which Napoleon agreed to make over Hanover to her. When Napoleon however, in order to bring the war with England to a close, began to make pacific overtures with Fox, the English minister (since the death of Pitt), on condition of restoring Hanover to England, Prussia grew indignant and declared war against France in alliance with Russia.

Quarrels between Prussia and France.

In 1806 Napoleon annihilated two Prussian armies at the battles of *Jena* and *Aurestadt*, and then entered Berlin The Prussian king fled to East Prussia hoping to continue the war with Russian help.

Battles of Jena and Aurestadt.

Napoleon's Campaigns against Russia :

The triumphant French Emperor, now marched on to humiliate Czar Alexander I of Russia, the presumptuous ally of Prussia. Though he had to face the armed resistance of the Russians at *Eylan*, he completely defeated the Russians at *Friedland* in East Prussia and took *Konigsberg*. The lukewarm support of England during the Grenville ministry and the inaction of Austria led the Czar to come to terms. By the *Treaty of Tilsit* (1807), Prussia was deprived of her territories west of the Elbe and of the Polish provinces which she had annexed in course of the Partitions of Poland. The provinces west of the Elbe together with Hesse-Cassel and Brunswick were formed into a new kingdom of Westphalia for Napoleon's brother Jerome ; Prussian Poland was included in the Grand Duchy of Warsaw under the rule of the King of Saxony ; the district of Bialystock

Napoleon's campaign in East Prussia against Russia.

Treaty of Tilsit.

Napoleon's re-construction of Europe.

was given to Russia ; Danzig with its surrounding ten miles was made a free city under the joint-protectorate of Prussia and Saxony. Russia recognised these arrangements as well as Napoleon's previous creations in Europe *viz.* the Confederation of the Rhine, the kingdoms of Italy, Naples, and Holland and also agreed to support his schemes against England. This treaty of peace was supplemented by a secret alliance between Napoleon and Czar Alexander, by which they combined to dominate Europe, the former exercising supremacy in the west and the latter in the east. *The Peace of Tilsit thus marked the zenith of Napoleon's career.*

Napoleon at the height of his glory.

Napoleon's Continental System, and its Effects :

Since the defeat of the French Navy at Trafalgar, Napoleon, hopeless of overpowering Britain at sea, determined to humble her by waging a commercial war. After his victory at Jena, he issued the famous *Berlin decree*, on Nov. 21, 1806, declaring the British isles to be in a state of blockade and forbidding the allies of France to carry on any trade with them. The British government also issued four successive retaliatory *Orders in Council* (Jan-Nov. 1807) by which, all vessels were forbidden to trade with ports belonging to France or her allies and reprisals were authorised against those countries which had seized English property. To this Napoleon replied by the *Milan Decree* (Dec. 17, 1807), which declared any ship of whatever nation, if touched at any British port, liable to be counted as a good prize if taken by a French warship or privateer. These 'Berlin and Milan Decrees' together constituted Napoleon's *'Continental System'*.

Napoleon's issue of the Berlin Decree, (1806) :

Milan Decree issued, (1807) :

The two decrees constituted the 'Continental System'.

It could not however ruin England commercially as much as Napoleon had expected, although it inflicted upon her industrial population some amount of suffering and loss by cutting off the supply of raw materials. The prices of the necessaries of life like sugar, wheat, coffee &c. rose enormously in all the countries and misery and famine threatened the labourers and the poorer classes. As England supplied the cheap necessaries of life to Europe, the seizure and destruction of British goods led to a gigantic system of smuggling throughout the continent. The Continental System however proved most ruinous to France herself. It not only annihilated the French shipping (except in the Mediterranean) but also created a strong feeling of opposition of the allies or the conquered people of the French Empire to Napoleon. It was really a mistake of Napoleon to expect that the subjects or allies of France would sacrifice their material interests to satisfy his vengence on a single nation. *The Continental System thus may fairly be regarded as the beginning of the collapse of the Napoleonic Empire.*

Effects of the 'Continental System':

Beginning of Napoleon's downfall.

The Peninsular War (1807-13):

After his return from Tilsit to France, Napoleon sent an army under Marshal Junot to invade Portugal as she had declined to close her ports to British commerce. Junot entered into an arrangement with the Spanish government to make a joint attack on Portugal and to partition out that kingdom. He then entered Lisbon, and the royal family fled to Brazil; Portugal was now annexed to France, but Spain did not get the promised share in the spoils.

French occupation of Portugal.

Meanwhile, dissensions in the Spanish court prepared the way for French interference in

French interference in Spain and deposition of the Bourbons.

Spain. Ferdinand, the heir to the Spanish throne bitterly despised his father, the weak king Charles IV, and his all powerful minister **Godoy.** Taking advantage of a quarrel between the king and his son Ferdinand, Napoleon enticed Ferdinand to France acting as arbiter in the quarrel, thrust both father and son aside and appointed his own brother Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain (1808). This flagrant violation of law and justice led to terrible excitement among the Spanish people. With the abdication of the Bourbon family, the patriotic Spaniards in many provinces armed themselves against the foreign usurper and began a guerilla warfare against him, and Joseph had to fly from Madrid.

Popular risings in Spain.

English intervention in Portugal and Spain.

The French met with reverses and General Dupónt capitulated at *Baylen*. England now took up the cause of the Spaniards and sent armies over to Portugal under Sir Arthur Wellesley (later **Duke of Wellington**). The French were defeated at *Vimiera* and allowed by the *Convention of Cintra to* evacuate Portugal. Napoleon himself marched upon Madrid and restored Joseph; but he had to hurry back to France as Austria had again taken up arms. Wellesley, now improved his position and gained a victory over the French at *Talavera* (1809). In 1810 Napoleon sent his best general, Marshal Massena, to drive the English out of Portugal. **Wellington** formed the *Lines of Torres Vedras*, a double series of fortifications, and undertook a series of campaigns which baffled Massena and secured a splendid base of operations for himself. Gradually he forced his way towards Madrid winning victories over the French at *Salamanca* (1812) and *Vittoria* (1813),

Sir John Moore's retreat to Crounna.

Duke of Wellington's campaigns in Portugal and Spain.

and compelled the French to retire to *Bayonne* in France which city was also reduced.

This great struggle sapped Napoleon's strength, drained his men and money which made him too weak to fight the powers of Central Europe, "opened a wing to the English soldiers" and even "attacked his moral standing in Europe" as he himself remarked at St. Helena Napoleon called it "the running sore," and this conflict with the never-failing patriotism of a nation certainly paved the way for his downfall

Way to Napoleon's downfall paved

The Revolt of Austria (1809) : :

In spite of the weakness of Emperor Francis I, his able minister, Count Stadion, by his reforms created a sort of national unity among the different races of the Austrian Empire under the Hapsburg rule Encouraged by the Spanish rising of 1808, Austria attempted to rouse the discontented Germans to throw off the French yoke To overawe Austria, Napoleon renewed his friendship with Czar Alexander I at *Erfurt Conference* and began his hostilities with Austria By splendid manœuvres and a series of victories, Napoleon marched upon Vienna and took it, won the battle of *Wagram,* and forced Austria to make peace The *Treaty of Vienna* was concluded (1809) by which Austria had to make large cessions of territory to France, which cut her off from Germany as well as from the Mediterranean to the great injury of her political importance and commerce Shortly after, Napoleon married Marie Louise, the daughter of the Austrian Emperor and neice of the executed queen Marie Antoinette, divorcing his amiable wife Josephine Beauharnais for her sterility (1810) The negotiator of this

National rising in Austria

Napeolon occupied Vienna

The Treaty of Vienna, 1809.

Napeolon divorced Josephine and married Marie Louise.

peace and marriage was **Prince Metternich**, the new Austrian minister, who in his attempt to save his country apparently recognised Napoleon's supremacy and established friendship with him. All Europe was amazed to see the Corsican usurper admitted to the ranks of the royal families of Europe.

Expansion of Napoleonic Dominions (1809-11):

Napoleon's annexations of the Papal States, of Holland, and of North Germany.

A French force occupied Rome and the Papal States were confiscated (1809); the Pope was made a prisoner for not submitting to Napoleon's decree and the Gallican Church was organised independent of the Romish Church. Napoleon's brother, Louis, resigned his crown of Holland which was annexed to France by Napoleon (1810). Between 1810-11 Napoleon annexed the whole of North Germany including Oldenburg and most of the Hanse-towns with a view to close the Elbe and the Weser to British commerce.

The Russian Disaster of Napoleon (1812):

Napoleon's breach with Russia.

The Austrian marriage of Napoleon, his annexation of Oldenburg (in North Germany) whose ruler belonged to the Czar's family, Russia's withdrawal from the *'Continental System'*, and Napoleon's sympathy for the Poles who were hoping to recover their independence with French support led to a rupture of the alliance between Russia and France contracted by the Treaty of Tilsit and strengthened at the Erfurt Conference. Napoleon with his army of 450,000 men reached Dresden, where the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia and may vassal princes waited on him at his invitation. "This *Re-union of Dresden*

seemed a parting pageant given to Napoleon by Fortune ere she abandoned him." Strengthened by a Prussian contingent, Napoleon marched through Poland and invaded Russia. He gained a victory at *Borodino*, and occupied *Moscow* (Sept. 14, 1812) which he found to his utter disappointment and horror already deserted and destroyed of fire by the Russians. Waiting for five weeks, he had no other way left but to retreat with his heavily reduced army. After an experience of unparalleled hardships and privations due to the depth of Russian frost, famine, and constant skirmishes with the Russian troops in the rear, the retreating army of Napoleon returned to the Prussian territory reduced only to 100,000 men. *This Moscow Expedition was Napoleon's strategic blunder which proved fatal to him.* The disastrous retreat of Napoleon moved Germany deeply. Men thought, now was the time for action against the French Emperor, now or never.

Napoleon's expedition to Moscow and his disastrous retreat, 1812.

Moscow expedition a strategic blunder—Europe prepared against Napoleon.

The War of Liberation (1813-14), and the Downfall of Napoleon.

Rising in Prussia after the Russian Disaster:

Since the Peace of Tilsit, which had brought Prussia to the verge of ruin, the Prussians began to feel the pulse of a national life under **Freiherr Vom Stein**, the scion of an old family of Imperial Knights in Germany. Born in 1787 and educated at the University of Gottingen, he had entered the service of Frederick the Great of Prussia (1780), travelled in England and studied British institutions (1786-7), and became the Minister of State for Trade at Berlin (1804); but he was dismissed by Frederick William III, (1807) for not accepting the office of the

Revival of Prussia under the administration of Stein

Foreign Minister after the disaster at Jena. The Prussian king however recalled him shortly after and entrusted him with the ministry of Home affairs and gave him a general share in the government (1807). **Stein** then introduced certain radical social reforms, issuing the famous '*Emancipating Edict*' which abolished serfdom and all distinctions between the nobles, peasants, and villeins. Certain military reforms were also carried out by introducing the principle of everybody's liability to military service, by abolishing the obsolete military tactics and the degrading punishments to enforce discipline, and by organising a militia for defensive purposes only. Municipal reforms and the principle of local government were also introduced. All these reforms revived a national spirit in Prussia and she began to prepare herself to break off with France in a suitable moment. In 1808, Napoleon learning about Stein's correspondence with Austria against France demanded his dismissal, and he went into exile. When Napoleon was going to invade Russia in 1812, the party of Stein moved for Russian alliance to begin a desparate struggle for liberty.

Stein's reforms.
(a) Social;
(b) Military;
(c) Municipal;
Stein's exile;

After the Russian disaster of Napoleon, Stein, now in exile, removed the hesitation of Czar Alexander I to help Prussia actively and being appointed as the Czar's official to administer East Prussia summoned a *Diet at Konigsberg* which decreed a levy-in-arms of the whole population to oppose Napoleon. The hesitating Prussian king, Frederick William III, was thus forced to go to war with Napoleon, and shortly after he signed the *Treaty of Kalisch* (1813) with the Czar by which the latter agreed to furnish a contingent of 150,000 troops and to

Stein's new move;
Prussia entered into alliance with Russia.

restore Prussia to its former dimension of 1805 and Prussia agreed to give up some annexations. War was formally declared in March 1813, and the Prussian commander entered Berlin

Prussia declared war against France

Napoleon driven from Germany :

The allies now fervently appealed to all Germans to defend their liberty but no response came, as Saxony and other members of the Confederation of Rhine still remained true to their alliance with Napoleon Napoleon, however, had gathered a new army of 'boys' in Paris with which he appeared at the heart of Germany and defeated the allied armies of Russia and Prussia at *Lutzen* and *Bautzen* (1813) The allies retreated to Silesia and looked to Austria for aid The diplomatic Austrian minister, **Metternich,** fearing that the Czar would become too strong in case of a complete defeat of Napoleon, declined to join the allies at once but concluded a secret treaty with Prussia agreeing to declare war against France in case Napoleon refused to give up his hold on Germany Napoleon, too, had already agreed to the *Armistice of Pleswitz* owing to the doubtful attitude of Austria, but it proved to be a grave error The allies succeeded in winning over Sweden, and Austria also declared war (Aug 1813) when Napoleon rejected the proposals of Metternich. England had already concluded subsidy-treaties with the allies and had stipulated for restoration of Hanover Thus the Europeon coalition of 1813 became prepared for the decisive campaign, and though Napoleon was successful once more at *Dresden*, he was utterly crushed at *Leipzig* (the '*Battle of the Nations*' as Germany called it) and hurried across the Rhine (Oct. 1813). The Confederacy of Rhine was abolished and the

Napeolon defeated the allies

Austria joined the coalition

Armistice of Pleswitz, 1813

Defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig.

king of Saxony became a prisoner at Berlin; Holland was made independent; Denmark was compelled to abandon French alliance; and Norway was ceded to Sweden. At the same time, the English general **Wellington** also forced back the French army out of Spain.

Invasion of France, and the Abdication of Napoleon (1814):

The allies advanced to Paris, and Napoleon forced to abdicate.

The allies now submitted to Napoleon their proposal at Frankfort about the limitations of the French territory within its natural boundaries of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. Napoleon refused the terms and so the allies under the advice of **Stein** resolved to invade France. Napoleon was now hopelessly outnumbered; the allies entered Paris (March 31, 1814) and forced Napoleon to abdicate unconditionally (April 6, 1814) and to retire to the island of Elba as its ruler with the title of Emperor and an income of two million Francs.

The First Restoration of the Bourbons:

Louis XVIII restored to the French throne.

The allies now restored the Bourbon monarchy under **Louis XVIII**, brother of the royal martyr Louis XVI. Louis concluded the *First Treaty of Paris* with the allies on May 30, 1814 by which—the French frontier of 1792 was retained, and France regained her colonies seized by England during the war except Mauritius and two other islands; England secured Malta, Cape of Good Hope, and Demarara, Essequibo; Holland was restored to the House of Orange; Switzerland was to be independent; Germany was to be a confedency; navigation of the Rhine was declared free; the allies were to evacuate France immediately without any war-indemnity;

First Treaty of Paris, 1814.

all questions still unsettled were to be referred to the congress to meet at Vienna.

Louis then published the *'Charter of the Constitution'* which gave France two *Legislative chambers*—one of peers nominated by the king, and the other of deputies elected by the people ; the latter should have control over taxation and expenditure ; the crown retained the right of initiating laws. Roman Catholicism became the state-religion while other creeds received toleration.

Louis XVIII issued the new constitution.

The Hundred Days of Napoleon :

While the diplomatists of all Europe were engaged in their deliberations in the Congress of Vienna to resettle the affairs of Europe which had fallen into the confused chaos as a consequence of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic regime, news arrived at Vienna that Napoleon had left Elba and landed at Cannes (March 8, 1815). The French nation, indignant to receive the unpopular Bourbons at the dictation of the foreign powers and already discontented with the reactionary policy of the government of Louis XVIII, enthusiastically received Napoleon who at once resolved to make the last attempt to regain his power. Most of his former ministers and generals flocked round Napoleon who proclaimed a pacific policy and grant of a liberal constitution. Louis XVIII finding resistance hopeless fled to Ghent. The allies assembled at Vienna declared Napoleon a public enemy of Europe. Preparations for a fresh campaign followed, and **Wellington** and Blücher with the English and Prussian armies respectively assembled at Belgium. Napoleon compelled the Prussians under Blücher to retreat at *Ligny*, and Wellington made a successful

Napoleon's return from Elba and his recovery of power in France.

Preparations of the allies against Napoleon.

Campaign of Waterloo, June, 18, 1815.

stand against Marshal Ney at *Quatrebras*. These engagements separated the English and the Prussian armies. Napoleon resolved to attack the English, while allowed his general Marshal Grouchy to pursue the Prussians. Wellington took up his position at *Waterloo* and held it in spite of repeated and furious attacks. Before Marshal Grouchy could join Napoleon, Blücher however came up on the French right. Unable to stand against two foes, the French army gave way and Napoleon was completely routed (June 18, 1815). He then went to Paris and abdicating in favour of his son tried to escape to America ; but the passages being guarded by the allies, he had to embark on board *The Bellerophon* for England writing a most pathetic letter to the English Regent : 'I have ended my political career and I come like Themistocles to take my seat at the hearth of the British people. I place myself under the protection of laws, whose shelter I claim from your Royal Highness as from the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies." But "the English government treated as a prisoner of war the man who came so nobly to claim its hospitality," and conducted him to the Island of St. Helena where he past six years in captivity till his death in 1821.

Fall of Napoleon.

Napoleon sent to St. Helena.

Causes of Napoleon's Downfall :

Napoleon once said, "none but myself ever did me any harm ; I was my only enemy." It was exactly so ; that dogged obstinacy which characterised him, his firm determination to hold out everything and yield nothing, his inordinate love of fighting, and lastly his tenacity to realise the unreal hope of making France the centre of a Federal Empire of Europe with Paris as its

The unreal ambitions of apoleon.

capital, really ruined the great Emperor. But the causes of his downfall are also to be sought elsewhere—in his *errors* in life. He made a mistake in invading Egypt in 1798 to destroy British commerce by securing the command of the Mediterranean for France, because this roused English hostility against him. This hostility was further intensified when he projected the 'Continental System' between 1806-7 in order to close the European ports against British commerce. As England supplied cheap necessaries of life to all Europe, those countries which were in alliance with France naturally became incensed to see their material interests suffer and decided to oppose Napoleon. His promise, as he himself has remarked in his *Memoirs*, of establishing 'systems of government adapted to the national temperament and circumstances' was violated by himself, when he himself became King of Italy, annexed the Ligurian Republic to France, arranged with Spain to make a partition of Portugal, gave the throne of Spain to his own brother Joseph, annexed the Papal states in Italy, the kingdom of Holland, and the North German States in course of seven years. The Moscow expedition and the disastrous retreat from Russia gave a fatal blow to his energy and his magic certainty of victory. The armistice of Pleswitz (1813) gave the allies time to join with Austria and to prepare for the decisive battle of Leipzig. In course of the Germanic war in 1813 he made the fatal mistake of abandoning the plan of dealing rapid and crushing blows to the retreating enemy and adopting the methods of making partial advances and strokes in air which fatigued his troops immensely. Of course, at

The Errors of Napoleon leading to his downfall.

Waterloo, Fate was against Napoleon, and English firmness, English resolution, and English blood won the victory. Victor Hugo has said "the too great heaviness of this man (Napoleon) in human destiny troubled the balance ; the moment was come for the incorruptible Supreme Equity to take counsel. Waterloo is not a battle ; it is the Universe changing the front."

Victor Hugo's remarks on 'Waterloo'.

An Estimate of Napoleon :

History, in judging the total of Napoleon's career, has varied widely and will vary according to the different tempers of the judges. Conservative critics of Napoleon find in him nothing but a "superb and maleficent explosion of human energy" and consider him as "the upstart captain of the revolutionary and militant democracy which had overturned the settled institutions of France and thrown its insolent challenge at the old order of Europe," while the liberal judges extoll the greatness of the man to such an extent as to call him the destroyer of Mædival barbarism. Lord Rosebery has compared him to Cæsar, Attila, Tamerlane or Mohammed ; how far it is correct is left to impartial readers to estimate. But, it cannot be denied that in France he "terminated the romance of the Revolution and conciliated the principles of social equality and political order", and established a strong government. His idea was to make education accessible to the mass of the nation to enlighten them, and in this direction he made a vigorous attempt by establishing Primary and Secondary schools, *Lycess, Ecoles spieciales*, for teaching literature, law, medicine, polytechnics and mechanics ; he built up the whole educational system, organising the

Opinions of the conservative and liberal critics.

What Napoleon did for France ?

Imperial University in 1808, which has created modern France. His economic legislations were though faulty, he gave France an admirable civil code—*Codé Napoleon*—of which France is proud even to this day. Although he had wasted Europe for fourteen years, he certainly sowed the seeds of national revival and political reformation throughout Europe which made possible the liberal movements of the nineteenth century. The lasting benefit to Europe, nay to the whole world, that may be traced to Napoleon is the first experiment at Vienna to ensure the continuance of peace by a combined effort of the powers meeting in congress ; and though the success of the experiment did not prove permanent, it must be admitted that, that experiment is being constantly repeated by pacific statesmen since then to avoid the wars.

What Napoleon did for Europe ?

England during the French Revolution :

At the outbreak of the French Revolution England showed great sympathy for it, fondly beleiving it to be a mere repition of the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688. The great English minister **Pitt the Younger** was friendly to the movement; Fox, a Whig statesman was enthusiastic about it and on the fall of the Bastille remarked "how much the greatest event it is that ever happened in the world ; how much the best!" Burke, however, regarded it with disfavour and, pointing out the danger of suddenly altering the social political and religious institutions of nations and of basing them on totally untried principles in his famous *'Reflections on the French Revolution,'* gave the tone to the English public opinion. The revolutionary excesses of the Paris mob and the September massacres in France brought the majority of Englishmen

Attitudes of Pitt, Fox, and Burke towards the French Revolution.

including the great minister Pitt to Burke's view of the Revolution. Measures were at once taken to stop the spread of the revolutionary principles in England; proposals for Parliamentary Reform in England were not accepted; the *Alien Act*, the *Treason Act*, the *Sedition Act*, &c., were passed (1793-95). Troubles were also brewing in Ireland where in spite of the independent parliament, bloody encounters frequently occurred between the Catholic natives and the colonists who controlled the government. Pitt believed that Ireland might afford a foothold for the French in their threatened invasion of England, and to avoid it managed by means of bribery to induce the Irish Parliament to be united with the British Parliament at Westminster by the *Act of Union* (1800). But this measure did not so much attract the attention of the people, as already the aggressive policy of Revolutionary France compelled England to take up arms against her. Pitt's two successive negotiations with the French Directory having failed, he adopted the diplomatic step of building up successive coalitions of European powers and subsidising them so as to keep often the continental armies in the field against France. But the brilliant victories of Napoleon broke up the coalitions, leaving England alone to carry on the war. Nevertheless England carried on the struggle cheerfully, and her enormous wealth and powerful Navy proved competent to overthrow Napoleon. Nelson's crowning victory at Trafalgar (Oct. 21, 1805) crushed the French naval power and established the supremacy of the British navy on the sea. Napoleon, despairing of successful naval action, next sought to bring the "nation of Shop-

Measures adopted in England.

The Irish Union.

War with France, and Pitt's policy.

English victory at Trafalgar, 1805.

keepers" to its knees by his famous *'Continental System'* but failed. At last with the outbreak of the Peninsular War, the British Army played an equally efficient part against Napoleon as her Navy had done. The Duke of Wellington drove the French out of Spain and Portugal, and took a large share in the first overthrow of Napoleon. His tenacity and skill at *Waterloo* at last taught the conqueror of so many countries how hard it was to establish a monarchy of the world.

The Second Restoration of the Bourbons:

Wellington and Blücher, the victors of Waterloo, marched to Paris, and the city capitulated after a feeble resistance (July 3, 1815). Louis XVIII returned there five days later, and no amnesty was granted to leading men who had supported Napoleon. By the *Second Treaty of Paris* (Nov. 1815) France was compelled to pay a heavy war-indemnity, to maintain an allied army of 150,000 men for five years, to yield that part of Savoy which had been gained in 1814 to Sardinia, and to restore the works of Art brought from different countries by Napoleon.

Second Treaty of Paris, 1815.

The Results of the French Revolution:

(1) *Universal recognition of the principle of individual liberty.* This not only led to the enfranchisement of the French peasants from their hereditary bonds, but the gradual extinction of serfdom in Europe.

Primary results: 1. Recognition of individual liberty:

(2) *Establishment of great political units in the place of distracted geographical unions.* The spirit of nationality which did this, thus became ingrained in the European peoples.

2. Establishment of great political units:

(3) *Abolition of royal absolutism.* The

3. Abolition of royal despotism :

'Monarch' again came to be regarded as a personal relation. He only *reigned* for the benefit of his people who *ruled* themselves through their representatives.

4. Appearance of socialism :

(4) *Practical appearance of Socialism.* Socialism henceforth ceased to be mere Utopias. The need of a social reconstruction, long felt and never doubted, took practical shape. The reconstruction which is going on imperceptibly in the civilised world of to-day, is the direct result of the great principles which the great French Revolution wanted to establish. We recognise to-day that we have the birth-right to sustenance and to the land which provides it.

The spirit of the French Revolution, still a living force.

The work of the French Revolution is not at an end. It is still a living force amongst us. In the words of the great Russian historian Prince Kropotkin, "the blood they (the French) shed was shed for humanity—the sufferings they endured were borne for the entire human race ; their struggles, the ideas they gave to the world, the shock of those ideas, are all included in the heritage of mankind. All have borne fruit and will bear more, still finer, as we advance towards those wide horizons opening out before us, where like some great beacon to point the way, flame the words—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

BOOK IV.

THE ERA OF RECONSTRUCTION.

1815—1899.

CHAPTER I.

Reaction versus Revolution.

The Congress of Vienna (Sept. 1814—June 1815):

The overthrow of Napoleon relieved Europe from the pressure which he had exercised for a long time, and the destruction of the Napoleonic regime was to be followed by the reconstruction of Europe. On Sept. 29, 1814, the congress of the European powers met at Vienna to settle the territorial arrangements and other affairs of Europe so as to make the outbreak of another revolution for ever impossible. All the states of Europe except Turkey were represented, and of all the assembled diplomats **Metternich** and Talleyrand were the most conspicuous. The territories that France had been forced to relinquish were readjusted in the following ways: (1) Germany was formed into a "confederation" of thirty-nine States whose affairs were to be controlled by a Diet of two chambers under the presidency of Austria; Prussia gained important territories left of the Rhine with a portion of Saxony and thus came to be the leading German power; Bavaria and Hanover received some additions, and the latter was raised to the rank of a kingdom: (2) Austria received Venice, Lombardy, Illyria, and a portion of eastern Bavaria: (3) Russia obtained

The meeting of the Congress of Vienna;

Its territorial readjustments.

Finland and the Duchy of Warsaw, and promised a liberal constitution to the Poles: (4) Belgium (or Austrian Netherlands) was united to Holland, and Norway to Sweden: (5) Italy was largely restored to the old dynasties connected with the Austrian Imperial family, and the Papal states were re-established; Genoa was annexed to Sardinia; Lombardy and Venetia went to Austria; Modena and Tuscany went to rulers of Austrian birth, and Naples and Sicily were restored to the Bourbons; Parma and Piacenza were given to Marie Louisie, wife of Napoleon; thus Austria came to be the dominant power in Italy: (6) Switzerland was declared independent and neutral and her constitution was promulgated: (7) England retained Ceylon, Malta, Trinidad, Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, St. Lucia and Tobago: (8) France returned almost exactly to the frontiers she possessed before the outbreak of the Revolution; (9) slave trade was abolished and a code regulating the navigation of rivers was drawn up. The deliberations of this famous congress came to a final close on June 8, 1815.

Character of the settlement:

(a) triumph of the Reaction against Revolution; (b) birth of the doctrine of 'Legitimacy';

This historic congress marks the formal triumph of the Reaction against Revolution. The revolutionary principles had ended in failure, and it was considered that the best arrangement would be to revert to the pre-revolutionary conditions by restoring the pre-revolutionary sovereigns or their heirs who came to be regarded as the 'legitimate' rulers. This doctrine received the name of *'Legitimacy'* and its most "fanatical champion" was **Metternich**, the Austrian minister, who was the right hand of the congress and its president in fact as well as in name. But this principle was not consis-

tently followed in course of the proceedings of the congress, which were marked by a ruthless disregard of historical usage or tradition, of differences of race or religion, and of popular rights, *e.g.* the great historic wrongs of the Partition of Poland was not undone ; Norway was severed from Denmark with which she was associated by bond of language ; Catholic Belgium was united with Protestant Holland ; Austria was allowed to preponderate in Italy. The congress thus competely ignored the sentiment and ideas of Nationality which had been aroused by the French Revolution. It was a congress of aristocrats to whom the ideas of Democracy as proclaimed by the French Revolution was incomprehensible or loathsome, and popular wishes counted for nothing. Though thus chargeable with short-comings, omissions, and mistakes, the congress built up a 'territorial system' which furnished guarantees for the security of continental Europe both against Russia and France.

(*c*) disregard of the principle of Nationality;

(*d*) building up of a new territorial system.

The Holy Alliance (1815) :

The deep hatred of the Revolution which characterised the Congress of Vienna soon developed into a fanatical faith and, at the insance of Czar Alexander I of Russia, Austria, Prussia and Russia entered into an alliance, called the *'Holy Alliance'* (Sept. 1815), proclaiming thereby that their foreign and domestic policies should be guided by the high standard of Christian faith and piety, they would rule justly, promote brotherly love among themselves and regard their subjects as their children, would maintain peace and order in Europe, and aid each other on all occasions and in all places.

Russia, Austria, and Prussia entered into the Holy Alliance : —its objects.

Criticism of the objects of the Holy Alliance.

All this had a very millennial look. But the motives of the 'Holy Allies' being the outcome of an unpractical enthusiasm that was entirely out of date, the 'Holy Alliance' came to be a league of *'Sovereigns'* against the *'People'*. Oscar Browning puts in short that "the Holy Alliance had two faces: with one it looked upwards, with mysterial emotion; with the other it frowned with threatening anger." The 'Holy Alliance' was thus, we should say, an organised hypocrisy which, while professing to sympathise with popular aspirations, sought to undermine popular liberty. Being invited by the authors of this Alliance, other European powers joined it, though with a questionable disposition, but England kept herself aloof. Soon Europe had to witness a long conflict between the reactionary policy of the so-called 'Holy Alliance' adopted by the different states and the expanding liberal ideas of their people.

Reaction in European States :

Austria :

Lack of unity in the Empire.

Austria was not a single nation, but was composed of different races. The Germans formed the bulk of the population in the duchies, and the Magyars formed the dominant people in Hungary ; besides there were the Italians, the Bohemians, the Poles, the Servians, and the Roumanians. Again the people were sharply divided into classes. While the nobility enjoyed large exemptions from taxation and military service, and monopolised the best offices in the state and large part of the land, the peasants groaned under burdens of taxation, compulsory military service and other sorts of oppression. As Prof. Hazen puts it, "Absolutism in government, feudalism in society, special privileges for

the favoured few, oppression and misery for the masses, such was the condition of Austria in 1815."

Austria, a land of the old regime.

During the next thirty-three years (1815-48), it became the fixed purpose of the government at the instance of its chief minister **Prince Metternich** to maintain the old régime in the kingdom. Metternich was the most commanding personality in Europe at the time and the central figure of European diplomacy ; and for this reason this period is sometimes called the 'Era of Metternich'. Having good looks, refined manners, and personal charms, he could fascinate others ; but he was essentially an opportunist, endowed with a frivolous and superficial nature. As the Chancellor of Emperor Francis I, he had succeeded in keeping the Austrian Empire intact when it was shaken by political convulsions at the time of Napoleon, laid down the principle of *'Legitimacy'* at the Congress of Vienna, and came to be the fanatical champion of the 'Holy Alliance'. He believed in absolute monarchy, hated parliaments and representative systems of government. His policy was to maintain the *status quo*, to keep things where they were. He was thus opposed to all demands for reforms, all struggles for national independence, all aspirations for self-government. He carried out this policy or 'system' first in Austria, and then sought to extend it to other countries through the 'Holy Alliance'.

Age of Metternich, 1815-48.

His foreign and domestic policy.

At home, to maintain his 'system' Metternich depended upon "a meddlesome police, upon elaborate espionage, upon a vigilant censorship of ideas". Books, newspapers, and theatres were placed under strict censure ; universities were

Metternich's domestic administration.

subjected to humiliating regulations; Political Science, History and Philosophy were not allowed to be studied; spies attended government offices, places of amusement, and educational institutions; professors, students, and the common people were alike persecuted. The civil administration became corrupt, justice was rare, and the people submitted to the regime for fear of persecution. Austria became thus completely sealed against the liberal thoughts of Europe. But, as we shall see, Metternich's policy at home and abroad, alike failed.

Germany:

After the Congress of Vienna, German patriots fondly hoped either the restoration of the old united German Empire with reformed institutions or the formation of a new constitutional government on the English model. But the Federal Assembly or *Bundestag* of the German confederation which became, in truth, only a congress of ambassadors from German States, could neither restore the old German Empire owing to mutual jealousies between Austria and Prussia, nor could create a new constitutional German government, owing to the reactionary principle of the 'Holy Alliance' adopted by most of the German States and Austria. Austria under her reactionary minister Metternich adopted absolutism as the form of government, and Prussia broke her promise of granting a constitution to her people; while some smaller North German States, which had been fostered by Napoleon and had become familiar with modern principles of government laid down by him, gave their countries written constitution after the model of France and became the nucleus of liberty.

The old constitution neither restored, nor a new one set up.

Policy adopted in —Austria, Prussia, South German States.

Violent excitement in Germany.

The strength of the liberal party in Germany lay virtually in the universities, the press, and in the provincial assemblies. German students, helped by their professors, formed an association of their own called the *Burschenschaft*, which was characterised by a scientific and progressive patriotism with a strict morality founded upon religion. They sang patriotic songs at their convivial gatherings and held banners of black, red, and gold, which are now the colours of united Germany. The press criticised the absolute governments; the provincial assemblies opposed reactionary measures of the despots. Another movement which disguised political agitation under the veil of social enthusiasm was the '*Turnen*' or Gymnastics.

Conference of the states at Carlsbad, and its results.

Thinking that a stronger instrument was urgently required to meet the excitements of the time, Austria, Prussia, and other reactionary states held a *Conference at Carlsbad* (1819) at the instance of **Metternich**, and unanimously agreed to crush the liberal movement. The universities were officialised, the press was muzzled, the provincial assemblies were either dissolved or filled with government nominees, the gymnastic halls were closed, the German tri-colour was proscribed, the police began to keep strict watch over political suspects, and all hopes of a constitutional government were destroyed by the esablishment of Provincial Estates which tended to divide the states instead of uniting them. "To whisper the word 'German Nation' was a crime, to work for it was high treason." Germany "found itself without a national existence, cut up into tiny states, ground down by officials, by police and by

nobles, without political rights or equality before the law." The policy of the 'Holy Alliance' triumphed, and Metternich became dominant in Germany as in Austria. And the reactionary princes slumbered till they were awakened by the thunderclap of the July Revolution of 1830 in France.

Triumph of the policy of Holy Alliance.

Spain :

When on the fall of Napoleon the deposed Bourbon king, Ferdinand VII, was restored to the Spanish throne, he sought to recover all the autocratic rights of his ancestors. He deliberately suppressed the liberal constitution of 1812 which the Spanish patriots had set up during their struggle with Napoleon, abolished the French institutions, and set aside the Napoleonic reforms. The press was gagged, books of liberal character were destroyed, and the liberals were persecuted. Monasteries were restored, the Jesuits and the *'Inquisition'* were re-instated, and the nobles regained their privileges. Besides, the government made no attempt to improve the condition of the masses. Even the integrity of the empire was threatened, as the government made no serious efforts to put down the revolt of the Spanish colonies in America. At last when a military uprising took place in 1820, the Spanish liberals joined it and forced the king to restore the constitution of 1812 and to promise to govern henceforth according to its provisions.

The Bourbon restoration and the revolution of 1820.

Portugal :

The country, at the close of the eighteenth century was ruled by an absolute king. The invasion of the French had roused the spirit of reform, while the English army which occupied

the country to save it from Napoleon after the escape of its king John VI to Brazil (1809) established a military government. The hatred of foreign domination however led the patriotic party to revolt against English military government in 1820. They drove out Lord Beresford, the English military governor, proclaimed a constitution, and invited John VI who had already given Brazil a free constitution to rule as a constitutional king.

Revolt against the English military government and the restoration of John VI.

Italy :

The Congress of Vienna had restored the petty states of Italy to their former rulers, except Lombardy and Venice which went to Austria. These two Austrian provinces were ruled autocratically, while the other states taking their cue from Austria adopted a strong reactionary policy. The Pope, and Victor Emmanuel I who was restored to Piedmont were also absolutists in their own ways. Italy had thus neither unity nor the semblance of constitutional or popular government. All liberal ideas were suppressed, the laws and institutions of French origin were abolished, the *'Inquisition'* was restored, education was handed over to the clergy, and the police carefully watched the class called 'thinkers'. The natural result of this policy of reaction and repression was the formation of secret societies, called the *'Carbonari,'* the members of which aimed at the unity of Italy, the expulsion of the foreigners (Austrians), and establishment of constitutional government.

Arbitrary rule of the restored princes in Italy.

The 'Carbonaries'.

The news of the successful revolution of 1820 in Spain led the *'Carbonaries'* to stir up a military uprising in Naples. Ferdinand, the restored king of Naples, being weak and

Rising in Naples, 1820.

coward, was frightened to grant a constitution similar to that of Spain.

The Triumph of the Holy Alliance:

Congress of Troppau and of Laybach.

The revolutions in Naples and Spain alarmed the reactionary rulers of Europe. The revolution in Portugal was also against the established régime there. **Metternich**, the soul of the 'Holy Alliance', called together a European Congress (first) at Troppau (1820), and (later at) *Laybach* (1821), where he successfully persuaded the powers to adopt the policy of '*Intervention* in the affairs of other states in order to put down revolutions.

Austrian intervention in Naples.

The Holy Alliance at once started its work, and Austria obtained the assent of Russia and of Prussia to restore absolutism in Naples. An Austrian army now entered Naples crushed the '*Carbonaries*' and restored king Ferdinand as absolute monarch.

Austrian intervention in Piedmont.

Just at the time the '*Carbonaries*' also revolted in Piedmont and occupied the capital. King Victor Emmanuel I abdicated in favour of his brother and retired. But the Austrians entered Piedmont ; the patriots after an honourable fight fled in wild disorder, and absolutism was restored by Austrian bayonets.

Congress of Verona and French intervention in Spain.

Delighted at the success of his policy, **Metternich** called together the members of the 'Holy Alliance' at the *Congress of Verona* (1822) to discuss the matter of an intervention in Spain which had adopted a free constitution. The congress called upon the Spaniards to alter the constitution and to give more power to their king. This being refused, the Congress commissioned France, now a thoroughly reactionary country, to restore Ferdinand to his former power. England indignantly opposed this

policy, but in vain. A French army entered Spain and restored Ferdinand to absolute power.

Thus the reaction maintained its grip on Europe, and Liberalism was suppressed. But 'Freedom's flag' would be seen flying again in happier moments.

The Eastern Question, and the War of Greek Independence :

Meaning of the "Eastern Question" :

The idea underlying it.

It was the idea of nationality as well as the oppressiveness of the Turkish government which caused frequent revolts of its Christian subjects in South Eastern Europe. These revolts, supported by Christian powers, gradually led to the independence of Greece and to the practical autonomy of the various Balkan States. The Eastern Question, therefore, relates to the many problems arising from gradual dissolution of the Turkish Empire and the conflicting interests of European nations resulting as its consequence.

Independence of Greece :

Greek attempt to throw off the Turkish yoke.

When in the western countries nations were groaning under the tyranny of absolute princes, in the Near East the little historic land of Greece was struggling to throw off the repulsive yoke of the Turks for many centuries. The struggle became successful owing, firstly to the decay of the Ottoman power caused by the weakness of the Sultans, factious quarrels amongst the nobles of the court, large increase in powers of the *Janissaries*, and practical independence of the Pashas or provincial governors ; secondly, to the sympathies of the Christian nations which the Greeks drew.

The decline of the Turks and its causes.

The Greeks rose in revolt in Morea, Roumelia, Thessaly, and the Greek islands

(1821), and the Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia followed their example. The Turks retaliated by perpetrating abominable atrocities, but the Greeks resisted Turkish tyranny bravely and, though defeated, could not be subdued. At last, in 1822, the first Greek National Assembly met and drew up a constitution.

The Greek risings, 1821.

The reactionary princes of Europe, under the spell of Metternich, connected the movement with the disturbances that took place in Spain, Portugal, Italy and other countries, and looked on with indifference; while the English Tories who were then ruling the destinies of England, as they were opponents of all sorts of innovation, as they were afraid of losing possession of the Ionian Islands, as they mistrusted Russia and could not see that the liberation of Greece would produce any advantage to English trade, partly ridiculed and partly crushed these aspirations. But battalions of crusading volunteers from England and the continent marched into Hellas to defend the cause of liberty and civilization, and the Greeks fought obstinately till their last fortress of Missolonghi was occupied.

Attitude of the European princes.

Greek patriotism soon roused the ardour of all lovers of liberty. **Canning**, England's new Tory Foreign minister who favoured 'liberty' abroad and was the foe of the 'Holy Alliance', became a champion of the Greek cause and called Czar Nicholas I and Charles X of France to join him. 'Every nation for itself, and God for us all!' was his motto. Nicholas I, who liked to protect Greek Christians as champion of the Greek church and hoped to acquire Constantinople, the Sultan's capital, in order to

Canning and the Greek question.

Russia and France agreed on common action with England.

secure the control of the Eastern Mediterranean, a road to India, at once responded to Canning's call. Charles X too followed Nicholas.

Treaty of London, 1827, and the attitude of Metternich.

In 1827 England, Russia, and France agreed by the *Treaty of London* to make Greece an independent state paying tribute to the Sultan. **Metternich** wept and grumbled that Nicholas I, joining the crusade against the Turks, had practically dissolved the 'Holy Alliance,' while all lovers of liberty heaped glories upon Canning.

Battle of Navarino and its effects.

At length, on the refusal of Turkey to comply with the demands of the allies, united English and French fleets attacked and destroyed the combined fleets of the Sultan and his practically independent viceroy, Mehemet Ali, of Egypt at *Navarino* (1827). The Turkish defeat at Navarino was so complete that Victor Hugo cried, "Greece is free, six years have been avenged by a single day; but the English ministers considered this as "an untoward event." The Sultan delaying to grant independence to the Greeks, Czar Nicholas on his own account invaded and occupied the Danubian provinces, and forced him to sign the *Peace of Adrianople* (1829). By it, the Sultan recognised the independence of Greece, and agreed that the Danubian provinces of Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia should have Christian governors, the navigation on the Danube was to be free, and neutral vessels were to pass freely through the Dardanelles in times of war. Then a *Conference of London* confirmed the Peace of Adrianople and made Greece a constitutional monarchy, the crown being given to Prince Otto of Bavaria.

Russo-Turkish War, 1828-29.

Peace of Adrianople, 1829.

Establishment of the Greek kingdom.

Thus ended a heroic struggle in triumph,

and "the independence of Greece was the first victory of Liberalism in Europe since the Congress of Vienna." The significance of this successful rising however lies in the fact that it gave birth to the idea of *'nationality'* in Europe which meant that all belonging to the same nation should form a single state, manage its own affairs, and be free from any foreign yoke. The idea, though vague, was highly revolutionary and demanded a new grouping of the European powers which was soon to follow. Actuated with this idea Germany and Italy soon moved towards union, while Austria was threatened with dissolution: other countries, also took up the idea and became restive.

Significance of the success of Greek rising.

The Revolutions of 1830:

The July Revolution in France (1830):

France under the restored Bourbons.

Louis XVIII of France who was restored for the second time in France after the fall of Napoleon was a sensible monarch, and he conceded to the new spirit of the times created by the Revolution. He gave a constitutional charter to the people, establishing thereby a *'Chamber of Peers'*, appointed for life and a *'Chamber of Deputies'*, elected by a limited number of voters. Louis ruled cautiously throughout a great part of the remainder of his reign, but as he grew old he yielded more and more to the ultra-royalist party which wanted to restore him to his former absolute power. He even joined the 'Holy Alliance' (1820), practically suspended the charter and unduly increased the importance of the aristocracy. He was commissioned by the Congress of New York to restore absolutism in Spain which he did. He died in 1824, and was succeeded by his brother Charles X.

The Constitutional Charter of Louis XVIII.

Louis joins the Holy Alliance.

A champion of feudalism, **Charles X** filled the cabinet with ministers who were staunch royalists. Julés Polignac, his personal friend was placed at the head of the Foreign office and the cabinet. The Jesuits were allowed to return to France and to control higher education. The National Guard was disbanded. Lastly, the king published under his seal the *Ordiances of St. Cloud* (1830) drafted by Polignac, by which the press were muzzled, the 'Chamber of Deputies' was dissolved, a new chamber was summoned, and the franchise to elect the chamber was altered and placed entirely under government control.

Charles X (1824-30).

Charle's attempts to restore absolutism in France: Polignac ministry and the four ordinances, 1830.

The ordinances meant the most flagrant violation of the laws, the revocation of the constitution, and return to absolutism. All France began to resound with shouts of "*Vive la Chárte*!" "*A bás lés Ministers*!" Polignac's windows were broken, and barricades were raised on the streets. A civil war broke out. The troops were powerless against the mob, who were joined by bands of students and citizens of all classes. A provincial government was set up, Charless X was declared to be deposed, and the crown was offered to Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orleans, the popular head of the secondary branch of the House of Bourbon.

The 'July Revolution' in Paris.

Louis Philippe at first hesitated to accept the crown, but, being requested by the 'Chamber of Deputies', he adopted the title of 'King of the French' (Aug. 1830), and solemnly swore to observe a new liberal constitution by which Catholicism was to be no longer the state-religion in France and all forms of religion were to be tolerated, the censorship of the press was to be abolished, laws were not to be suspended by the

Louis Philippe, declared King of the French.

Crown, the initiative of legislation was to go to the Chambers as well as to the King, the conditions of the franchise were to be easier, extraordinary tribunals were not to be set up, and foreign troops were not to be employed by the king. This news blasted the last hope of Charles X and he now left the kingdom.

Flight of Charles.

Effects of the revolution outside France.

The report of the July Revolution in Paris spread like wild fire. As the success of the revolution meant a great victory for Liberalism, country after country in Europe rose in revolt against absolutism inspired by the ideas of freedom and of self-government.

The Revolution in Belgium (1830):

The Belgians were the first to stir after the July Revolution in France. By the Congress of Vienna, Belgium had been incorporated with Holland under the rule of the Dutch House of Orange. This political marriage of Belgium with Holland was destined to prove unhappy. The Belgians were feeling much discomfort from the union, because they were different in every respect, in nationality, in character, in religion, in language and in mode of life, from their Dutch neighbours. King William, like Emperor Charles V, attempting to fuse the two nations into one gave offence to the Belgians. He fostered Dutch education, Dutch civilisation, and made Dutch the official language throughout the Low countries. He encouraged commerce and industry, and invited the Belgian merchants to settle in Holland and the Dutch merchants to settle in Belgium. All that he did, he did with excellent intentions; but the Belgians wanted a separate government and complete freedom of their education and national institutions as also

Causes of Belgian discontent.

the development of indigenous industry and commerce.

But when his excessive love of personal government led King William to resist these claims, the Belgians revolted (1830). The performance of a revolutionary piece of opera spread the infection among the audience in Brussels; the people rose in revolt, overpowered the king's troops, and a provisional government was set up. The European powers now came to interfere, but with a different motive. At a *Conference in London*, all the powers at the proposal of England and France agreed to grant a separate government to the Belgians under a constitutional king. In 1831 Belgium was created a kingdom, the crown being given to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg; its perpetual neutrality was secured by a European guarantee; and freedom of navigation was secured in the rivers common to Holland and Belgium.

Revolution in Brussels, 1830.

Recognition of the independence of Belgium and her neutrality, 1831.

The independence of Belgium has been justified by success. Belgium has presented the spectacle of a free, intelligent, and progressive society. Her mines, manufactures, and industries have been remarkably developed; her universities have contributed much to the advancement of knowledge and civilization. Belgium's neutrality had never been violated by any power till the outbreak of the *Great War* of 1914 when Germany did not hesitate to commit this 'infraction of international law.'

Progress of Belgium since 1831.

Violation of Belgium neutrality by Germany, 1914.

The Revolution in Poland (1830):

The success of the revolutions in France and Belgium stimulated Poland to make a serious effort to recover her independence. Czar Alexander I, though a despot in Russia, gave this country a liberal constitution, a national

Poland under Czar Alexander I.

army, and ruled wisely through Polish officials and a Russian viceroy. He had established a national bank, constructed roads, favoured industry and encouraged literature and science; still the Poles conspired against Russian rule and all Poland was honeycombed with secret societies. This broke Alexander's heart.

Rule of Czar Nicholas I.

Nicholas I who succeeded him (1825), therefore, began to rule the country with a feeling of mistrust and attempted to establish absolutism. The patriotic Poles became highly indignant and the news of the successful revolution in France inflamed their spirit. In Nov. 1830, a band of students, fully armed, attempted to kill the viceroy in the palace of the Belvedere; the viceroy saved his life by flight. But this event became the signal for a general rising. Warsaw, the capital, rose in revolt, and all Poland followed the example. The army having joined the rebels, the revolution was complete in eight days and a provisional government was set up at Warsaw.

Revolution in Warsaw, 1830.

Disunion among the Poles.

But internal dissension, that curse of Poland, soon made itself felt. The conservative aristocrats wanted only a reform of the constitution, while the progressive middle class looked for complete independence. The Polish Diet, under the influence of the conservative party, drew up all their grievances and sent two emmissaries to present them to Czar Nicholas I. But the Czar would have nothing less than unconditional surrender, and, this being refused, Russian troops marched into Poland. Polish patriots faced the disciplined Russian army bravely, defended Warsaw heroically, but after a year's fighting they had to surrender (1831). Thousands of patriots fled to foreign countries where they

Russian attack upon Warsaw

wandered about eating the breads of affliction and pouring the woes of their fatherland into the ears of sympathetic Europe, while thousands of Polish prisoners filled the mines and highlands of Siberia. The Czar now took steps to denationalise the Poles, and by the *Organic Statute* passed in 1832, Poland became a Russian province. Its constitution was abolished, and its own language was replaced by the Russian tongue. The Roman Catholic religion of the Poles made room for the Greek orthodox church. Poland lay bound and gagged at the feet of Russia. Her failure to achieve independence was due not so much to the strength of Russia, as to her internal dissensions; but she never lost her faith in independence and has fondly clung to her past memories.

Suppression of the revolt.

Abolition of the Polish constitution, 1832.

Reasons for Poland's failure.

The Revolution in Germany (1830):

The July revolution in France and the stirring events in Belgium and Poland produced a powerful effect on Germany. A general cry was raised for freedom and unity; revolutionary movements broke out, and mobs came into collision with troops. The results of all these were that the smaller states in the North such as Brunswick, Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse established modern representative governments, and the South German states such as Bavaria, Würtemburg, and Baden confirmed their liberal constitutions which had been granted after 1815, while Austria and Prussia, under Metternich's influence, continued the old reactionary system. In 1833, the ministerial *Conference of Vienna* between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, held under the presidency of **Metternich** decided to employ repression against the

Some gains for constitutional government.

Conference of Vienna, 1833.

encroachments of the chambers, the universities, and the press, and established a judicial court to decide disputes between the rulers and the ruled. The position of Prussia at this time was however peculiar ; on the one hand she persisted in the antiquated absolute system, on the other she was working for the unity of the Fatherland by the establishment of a uniform system of custom duties through the *Zollverein* or Customs Union.

Formation of the Zollverein—first step towards German unity.

The Revolution in Italy (1830) :

Though the *Carbonaries* in Italy had failed to secure Italian union and freedom, they still fondly clung to the hope of the 'resurrection of Italy,' *'Il Risorgimento d'Italia,'* and filled all Italy with secret societies. Revotutions broke out in Modena, Parma, and the Papal States in 1830 and the 'legitimate' rulers were deposed or driven away. **Metternich,** who had been keeping a close watch upon the peninsula from the vantage-point of Lombardy at once sent Austrian troops who easily crushed the revolutions and restored the 'legitimate' rulers. The only result of the Italian revolution of 1830 was an increased hatred of Austria.

Italian risings of 1830 suppressed easily by Metternich.

The Revolution in Spain (1830) ;

Absolutism, as we have noticed, had been restored in Spain by France in 1823. Since then thousands of Spanish patriots were living as exiles in foreign countries. But when the July revolution in France broke out, these Spanish Liberals tried to re-enter Spain by armed force ; they were, however, defeated, imprisoned or persecuted by the order of King Ferdinand VII. At last when the king, having no son to succeed him after his death, absolished the Salic Law and

Attempts of the Spanish Liberal exiles foiled by Ferdinand VII.

made his daughter Isabella heir to the crown in preference to his brother Don Carlos, Don Carlos vehemently opposed the king's action. Ferdinand advised by his Queen Christina became inclined to the side of the Liberals for support and to conciliate them issued a liberal constitution, the *Estatudo Real,* which established two chambers chosen by indirect election. The king's departure from the policy of absolutism made the Apostolical or ultra-royalist party angry and they gathered round Don Carlos, "in whose fanatical soul there was not a spark of toleration."

Change in the policy of Ferdinand and 'Carlism' in Spain.

After the king's death in 1833, Spain was divided into two hostile parties—the 'Christinos' or constitutionalists following the lead of Queen-mother Christina, the Regent to the young Queen Isabella, and the 'Carlists' or ultra-royalists following the lead of Don Carlos, who assumed the title of Charles V. Soon a civil war ensued, known in Spain as *Seven Years' War.* Russia, Prussia and Austria, the three members of the 'Holy Alliance', refused to acknowledge Isabella, while England and France made the *Quadruple Alliance* with Spain and Portugal in 1834 to support Isabella in Spain and Donna Maria in Portugal. With the aid of British troops, the Regent defeated and drove away Don Carlos and his followers, and Isabella's throne was secured.

Isabella II, 1833-68.

Civil war in Spain.

The Revolution in Portugal (1830) :

After the death of King John VI (1826), Dom Pedro, his son, remained in Brazil as a constitutional emperor and gave the crown of Portugal to his daughter Donna Maria. In 1828, Dom Miguel, brother of Pedro I however, proclaimed himself king with the help of the

Usurpation of Dom Miguel in Portugal.

'absolutists.' Upon this, Pedro came from Brazil to Europe to support the cause of his daughter. He enlisted the sympathy of England and France, and after the conclusion of the *Quadruple Alliance* in 1834, Donna Maria, with the help of English troops and the liberals, drove Dom Miguel out of the country, and began to rule as a constitutional queen.

Donna Maria obtained the crown.

The Revolution in Switzerland (1830):

The Congress of Vienna had established the old system of a loose confederation in Switzerland under which each canton was practically sovereign and independent. In 1830, the liberal cantons rose against the oligarchical tyranny of the conservative ones, and secured some constitutional reforms in the Federal Assembly. Conservative cantons being opposed to further democratic reforms, two leagues were formed (1832)—the *'Sarner Bund'* composed of conservative cantons, and the *'Siebener Concordat'* composed of democratic cantons. Soon a civil war broke out, in which the liberals were victorious, and as a result the *'Sarner Bund'* was dissolved (1834). The conservative cantons which were mostly Catholic, however, attempted to strengthen their position by placing education in the hands of the Jesuits. The liberal cantons demanding the expulsion of the Order, the conservative cantons made themselves into a separate confederation, called the *'Sonderbund'* (1845). On its formation, Russia, Prussia, and Austria declared the Swiss Confederation dissolved, and invited England and France to intervene in Switzerland. But England and France maintained strict neutrality, and, before the absolute powers could intervene, General Dafour of the Swiss Confederation

Quarrel between the conservative and the liberal cantons.

The *"Sonderbund"* and the attempt of the Powers to intervene.

defeated and dissolved the *'Sonderbund'* and drove away the Jesuits (1847).

The Revolutions of 1848

The Revolution in France (1848) :

Unpopularity of the reign of Louis Philippe :

Shorty after the accession of **Louis Philippe** on the throne of France (1830), he found himself beset with uncommon difficulties. France was at the time divided into four parties, of which the Bonapartists, the Bourbonists (Legitimists) and the Republicans were opposed to Louis who belonged to the Orleanist dynasty, while only the Constitutionalists supported him. The king therefore, had to look to the strengthening, and material advancement of the constitutional party, composed entirely of capitalist middle-class men or *'bourgeoisie'* who were bankers, manufacturers, merchants &c. The upper middle class thus became supreme in the state, and the July Monarchy had no mind to give power to the great mass of the people.

Supremacy of the middle classes.

Industrial discontent and Socialist theories.

But the poor labouring population, with the preaching of the communistic and socialistic theories by writers like Fourier, Saint Simon, and Louis Blanc, and with the spread of education among them, organised themselves into 'unions' and began to demand higher wages and other social privileges. These *'Socialists'*, as they were called, became angry with the king for his undue preference to the capitalist middle classes who gave small wages and were opposed to social reforms. They soon joined the opposition and began to demand larger political concessions from the king. The most important and reasonable of their demands was the extension of the suffrage. Among a large population, only a very small number was represented in

Deamnds of the Socialists :

the Chambers, owing to a high property qualification and those who were represented were mostly middle-class men. **Thiers**, a champion of democracy, warmly supported this popular demand and repeatedly proposed in the Chambers for the extension of suffrage. The Constitutionalists opposed the proposals of Thiers, and their leader **Guizot**, who was Premiér in 1848, even refused to listen to the popular demands. Then in order to create a public opinion in favour of electoral reform, reform banquets were held in several towns, and at last it was generally agreed that a large reform banquet should be held in Paris on February 22, 1848. The banquet being prohibited by the government, the crowds who came to celebrate it became excited and demanded Guizot's dismissal. The king, in order to satisfy the mob and to conciliate the opposition, dismissed Guizot and made Thiers Premier the next day. But a band of troops having killed some of the mob by shooting, the mob surrounded and stormed the Tuileries. Louis Philippe abdicated and fled from Paris to England. A provisional government under Lamartine was set up, and France was declared a Republic.

Attitudes of Theirs and Guizot.

The Reform banquets.

Abdication of Louis Philippe : France made a Republic, 1848.

The Revolution in Germany (1848) :

Growth of Liberalism in Germany.

The overthrow of the Monarchy in France in 1848 became the signal for the breaking out of a general revolutionary movement all over Central Europe. The rulers, however, to save their thrones, immediately conciliated their subjects by introducing such reforms as the liberty of the press, trial by jury, political equality, ministerial responsibility, equal taxation, abolition of feudal obligations etc. Only

rulers of Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover, Prussia and Austria remained silent.

Summoning of the *Vorpalament*, March 8, 1848.

Then the Liberals, who had the fondest desire to reform the "*Bundestag*" and to make Germany a federal state, called the German states to send deputies to a '*Vorparlament*' which was to be a German National Parliament. But before the states could respond, an insurrection took place in Vienna leading to the downfall of Metternich and the promise of a liberal constitution in Austria by Emperor Ferdinand. The rising in Vienna was followed soon by a rising in Berlin and Frederick William IV, the Prussian king, promised to restore liberty to the press, to transform the German confederation (*Statenbund*) into a federal state (*Bundestat*), and to incorporate Prussia in it. From this time Prussia really put herself at the head of the Liberal movement. Seeing what happened in Vienna and Berlin and what attitude Austria and Prussia took, Saxony, Bavaria, and Hanover granted liberal constitutions.

Grant of liberal constitution in other states.

Meeting of the *Vorparlaments*—its composition.

Now that 'constitutionalism' triumphed in all Germany, the question of '*Vorparlament*' was again raised. The '*Vorparlament*' soon met at Frankfort, being animated by a zeal for German unity. This parliament which substituted the old '*Bundestag*,' was composed of deputies from each of the confederated states elected by universal suffrage and their ruling princes. The princes were allowed to frame a constitution for the federal government and to constitute Germany, as regards her foreign relations, a single, powerful, and united state. On June 29, 1848, the parliament chose Archduke John of Austria as the executive head of the federal

Archduke John as head of the *Bundestat*.

state, under the title of 'Reichsverweser' or 'lieutenant-administrator of the empire.'

German constitution as settled by the *Vorparlament*.

The election being received with universal acclamation by the end of 1848, the parliament drew up and presented to the German nation the "fundamental rights," based on liberal theories. It then proceeded to frame the constitution. After a stormy debate it was arrived at that a single hereditary emperor, called the German Emperor, maintained in his dignity by a civil list voted by the German Parliament, was to have the executive in all affairs of the empire and the right of making peace or war; he was to nominate and appoint all officers of the state, of the army and navy, and of the staff of the guard; the German parliament was to be only a national legislative body consisting of a federal chamber (*Statenhaus*) based on the independence of the states, and a popular chamber (*Volkshaus*) based upon the unity of the people.

Frederick William VI refused the Imperial dignity.

In April 1849, Frederick William IV was elected the German Emperor, but he refused the imperial dignity, probably because either he hated the democratic clauses of the constitution or he liked not to be embroiled in a war with the Emperor of Austria. On Prussia's refusal to acceept the constitution, most of the German States also refused to do so. The first German parliament, thus, discredited, came to an end in June, 1849, but it gave an impulse to the realisation of German unity.

End of the first Parliament

Aims of Prussia.

The Prussian king, however, who at heart desired to be the head of a united Germany, invited the German princes to a conference at Berlin, and proposed to form a *"Union"* of the purely German states with a federal parliament

of two chambers, of which he himself was to be the president. This meant exclusion of Austria from Germany. Some twenty-eight states accepted it while others remained indifferent. Austria, unwilling to fall away from her leading position in Germany, summoned the old *'Bundestag'* at Frankfort which was joined by all the states that had not joined the *'Union.'* Thus Germany was divided into two hostile camps and a war between Austria and Prussia seemed inevitable. But the war was averted by Prussia abjectly giving up the *'Union'* by the *Convention of Olmutz*, and agreeing to settle German affairs in a conference. The conference which met at Dresden, only decided in favour of the simple restoration of the old state of things before 1848. Thus the great movement failed. Austria revoked the liberal constitution granted to her subjects, but Prussia retained her constitution, hoping to assume the leadership of Germany under more auspicious circumstances.

The *'Union'* and the *'Bundestag'* —division in Germany.

The Conference of Dresden and the restoration of the *'Bundestag'*

The Revolution in Austro-Hungary (1848):

The shock of the revolution in France in 1848 also reached Austria and her subject states. **Metternich** had tried to keep the Austrian people asleep, but he failed. The first popular rising took place in Vienna, the Austrian capital, and the people and soldiers faught hand to hand (March, 1848). The crowd invaded the hall where the Diet was sitting. Metternich according to the popular demand resigned office and fled in disguise to England, and Emperor Ferdinand I was forced to abolish the 'feudal abuses', to grant liberty to the press, to form a citizen-guard, and to promise a liberal constitution.

The rising in Vienna, and fall of Metternich, 1848.

The revolt of Hungary led by Kossuth.

Simultaneously with the rising in Vienna, the Hungarians at Buda-Pesth rose in revolt in 1848 under their leader, **Louis Kossuth**, for freeing Hungary from Hapsburg rule and separating her from the 'many-tongued' empire of Austria. From the position of a journalist, Kossuth become an eloquent speaker and was able to create a powerful public opinion in favour of democratic changes. Not satisfied with the separate ministry already granted to the Hungarians, the revolutionary party in Hungary demanded from the Diet a separate government professing an allegiance to the Emperor (which might be known half a century later as 'Home Rule'). Jealous of the Magyars of Hungary, the Slavs of Bohemia, who had also begun a national movement, decided to support the government. But Vienna rose again in open revolt, demanded the reform of the constitution, and Ferdinand escaped to Inspruck. The Bohemians took this as a serious blow to their cause, as they thought that Ferdinand would reside in Prague and entrust the defence of the crown to his Slav subjects. A Pan-Slav congress held at Prague (June, 1848) decided to remain loyal to the Hapsburgs on condition that the Austrian monarchy should be organised as a federation, and at the same time a provisional government was established at Prague; but Prague was shortly reduced to submission. At the same time the Slavs and Croats of Hungary rose in wild revolt against the party of Kossuth. The Austrian assembly (*Reichsrath*) began its sitting in Vienna; Ferdinand returned there, and declared war against Hungary. Under the influence of Kossuth, Vienna rose in revolt again; Latour, the war-minister, was murdered by the mob who

The Bohemian rising: Pan-Slav Congress at Prague.

The revolution at Prague crushed.

Declaration of the Hungarian War.

demanded cessation of hostilities against the Magyars. Ferdinand fled to Olmutz, but his general with the help of the Croats besieged Vienna and reduced it. Emperor Ferdinand now abdicated in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph (Dec. 1848).

Ferdinand's abdication.

The new emperor, under the guidance of his able and energetic minister Schwärzenberg, took up the task of reducing Hungary. The Hungarians refused to accept Ferdinand's abdication, and carried on the government in his name. But when the Austrian army approached, they continually retreated by the advice of **Kossuth** till Pesth was occupied. An indecisive battle was next fought at *Kapolna* (1849) and the Hungarians further retired to the river *Theiss* where a number of battles were fought and the Austrians were repulsed. The Hungarians now recovered Pesth, stormed Buda, and proclaimed Hungary independent (April 1849). Czar Nicholas, alarmed lest the success of the Hungarians might incite a rising among his own discontented subjects in Poland, came to help Austria. Kossuth carried on a desperate guerilla warfare against the invaders, but at last dissensions between the military and civil leaders in Hungary led to the collapse of the revolt. Hungary lost all constitutional freedom and became a vassal state of Austria. Kossuth escaped to Turkey and died in exile at Turin in 1894. Thus the reaction completely triumphed in the Austrian Empire.

Battle of Kapolna.

Hungarian independence proclaimed.

Intervention of Russia.

Collapse of the Hungarian revolt, and its result.

The Revolution in Italy (1848):

Italy has hardly any history between 1815 and 1848, except the insurrections of the *Carbonaries* in 1820 and in 1830. These risings were put down by the strong hand of Austria,

Italy before 1848.

which kept a firm hold on Lombardy and Venice, maintained smaller Italian princes on their thrones, and virtually ruled the whole country. But in 1848, the Italian patriots, being inspired by the news of the revolution in Vienna tried once more to free their country and make it united. Lombardy and Venice first rose against the Austrians and declared their independence (1848). Soon Tuscany, Sicily, and other states, drove out their despotic princes, mobilized their troops to assist Lombardy and Venice, and gave the generalship of their combined army to Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, who had expressed his sympathy with the constitutional and national aspirations of his countrymen.

Revolts in Lombardy and Venice :

Sardinia declared war against Austria.

Austria sent a vast army to Italy which scattered the Italian forces at *Custozza* (1848), and reconquered Lombardy. Being defeated again at *Novara*, Charles Albert, sick at heart, abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel II (1849), who made peace with Austria and gave a war-indemnity. Austria soon reconquered Venice too. Thus the north of Italy again fell prostrate before Austria, and with it the petty despots of central and southern Italy annulled their constitutions which they had been forced to grant.

Reconquest of Lombardy and Venice by Austria.

In Rome, the history was, rather a little different from that of other states. Pope Pius IX was no despot. By a series of generous measures, he had sympathised with the liberal movement, and granted a liberal constitution. But when Lombardy and Venice waged the national war against Austria, and Roman patriots urged him to send help to Lombardy and Venice, he adopted somewhat inconsistent

Rising in Rome.

attitude. This was his fault. Rome rose in insurrection under **Mazzini** and **Garibaldi**, drove him out of the city, and declared the Papal dominions a Republic (Feb. 1849). Mazzini became the President, and Garbaldi the General of the Republic.

Foundation of the Roman Republic by Mazzini and Garibaldi.

The Roman Catholic world became indignant at the conduct of the Romans. Louis Napoleon, the new President of the French Republic, in order to make himself popular, sent an army which swept Mazzini and his republic out of Rome (July, 1849), and restored the Pope to the Vatican.

The French expedition to Rome, and fall of the Republic.

The Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 compared :

(*a*) In France, the July Revolution of 1830 had left no great social or legislative changes behind it. It had only transferred the administrative power from the hands of the reactionary 'Royalists' to those of the 'Constitutionalists,' and changed the 'absolute' monarchy into a 'constitutional' one ;—it thus led to the triumph of constitutionalism, and made the monarchy a 'middle-class monarchy' by transferring the political power from the nobles to the middle class.

Establishment of Constitutionalism and middle-class rule in 1830 :

The Revolution of 1848 on the other hand marked the triumph of 'Republicanism' as well as 'Socialism' in France. It clearly established the 'Sovereignty of the People' and gave the verdict that the 'socialists' had every right to claim an increasing social and political benefit for the people. It gave the people of France a republican constitution so that they might have a full share in the executive as well as in the legislature, and a full power and scope to work out the evolution of their social and political

Triumph of Republicanism and Socialism in 1848.

institutions. It made the State identical with the Nation.

(*b*) The Revolution of 1830 in France had been followed by revolutions in Belgium, Poland and Italy, and a struggle for constitutional government in the states of Germany. The results had been that only Belgium obtained a limited national monarchy and the lesser German states obtained liberal constitutions, while Poland and Italy fell within the grips of a barbarous reaction, and the people of Austria, Prussia, and other larger states continued in their sullen submission to absolutism. The revolutions of 1830 taught Europe that the kings are the *'legitimate'* rulers of their subjects, and the subjects had no rights and privileges to claim, except what would be given to them of their own accord by their rulers. Thus during the Liberal movements of 1830, the subject-classes obtained no sympathy from their rulers, who tried to establish their governments more or less upon military force and not upon the affection of the people.

Doctrine of *'Legitimacy'* confirmed in 1830 :

The Revolution of 1848 in France, was followed by a convulsion throughout Central Europe. The communities in Germany began to feel a national impulse which no pressure of arbitrary power could extinguish, and which led them to attempt to secure the unity of Germany under the leadership of Prussia. Similar attempt was made by the Italian patriots for the unity of Italy ; Hungary felt the same breath of patriotism and claimed the right of self-government. Though the Liberal movements failed in Germany and Italy, they gave a considerable impulse to the realisation of German and Italian unity. This impulse came from the co-opera-

Feeling of national impulse in 1848.

tion of two powerful princes, the kings of Prussia and Sardinia with their subjects and the patriots in general. European people now could boast that they had rights and privileges to claim from their rulers, and reactionary princes staggered at them.

CHAPTER II.

France since the Second Republic.

Struggle between the Socialists and the Republicans :

Influence of the Socialists in the provisional government.

After the Revolution of 1848 a provisional government was set up under Lamartine and France was declared a Republic on Louis Philippe's abdication (*Vide Bk. IV. Ch. I.*). In the government, the Socialists, who had played an important part in the overthrow of the monarchy, secured a representation and formed an important wing of the republican section. They had such a powerful voice in the government that they got the so-called 'right to employment' proclaimed, and 'national workshops' were established where the unemployed of Paris obtained a guarantee of living in the service of the State.

The National Constituent Assembly and its attack on the Socialists.

In May, 1848, a new National Constituent Assembly which met to frame a constitution for the Republic dismissed Lamartine's provisional government and took control of the state. The object of the National Assembly which was full of peace-loving republicans in doing it was to purge off socialistic influence from the government and to win Paris back to peace and order from the disorders created by the turbulent Socialists. Many Socialists were imprisoned and in the month of June the 'national workshops' which were their strongholds were dissolved. The Socialists then barricaded themselves in the eastern side

of Paris, and resisted from June 23 to June 26 the troops of General Cavaignac who had been vested with dictatorial powers by the Assembly to deal with the trouble. However, the Socialists were put down after a tremendous slaughter.

Suppression of the Socialist insurrection in Paris.

Constitution of the Second Republic :

The National Constituent Assembly now framed a republican constitution. The legislative function was entrusted to a single Chamber elected on the basis of universal suffrage, every man of twenty-three obtaining a vote and every man of twenty-five being qualified for election. The number of deputies was fixed at 750. The executive authority was vested in a President, elected directly by the people for a period of four years, and a committee of five members. On Dec. 20, **Louis Napoleon**, nephew of the great Napoleon Bonaparte, became universally elected as President of the Republic of France. The election of Louis Napoleon showed that through France had a republican constitution, a large number of her people liked the principles of Monarchy.

Constitution of 1848 : principle of universal suffrage adopted.

Louis Napoleon elected President of the Republic.

Louis Napoleon's Coupd'e'tat, and overthrow of the Second Republic :

Although Louis Napoleon had sworn 'to remain faithful to the democratic republic,' his aim was to revive the Monarchy and to remain in power permanently. For this, he sought the support of the peasants, the priests, and the army. His imperial design became apparent when he, to carry favour with the Roman Catholic priests and peasantry of France, did not even hesitate to overthrow the Roman Republic of Mazzini and Garibaldi (June, 1848). He then

Napoleon's idea of reviving the Monarchy.

Napoleon's reactionary measures.

began to undermine systematically the constitution of the Republic of France, by dismissing the republican ministers or members of the executive committee, by appointing obscure and docile ones in their place, and by arbitrarily reducing the number of the electors by three millions. Signs of opposition began to show themselves, and at last on Dec. 2, 1851 (the anniversary of *Austerlitz*), to give a decided and sudden blow to the Republic, Louis Napoleon imprisoned such eminent persons as Cavaignac, Thiers, and Victor Hugo, dissolved the National Assembly, and appealed to the nation to choose him President for ten years and to recast the constitution on the model of the 18th Brumeire. The nation accepted his proposal by a plébiscite and elected him President for ten years. But exactly a year after this *Coup d'état*, he managed to get himself proclaimed by the vote of the people as Emperor Napoleon III. The Second Empire was thus established.

His Coup d'état of 1851.

Napoleon becomes Emperor.

The Second Empire (1852-70):

Reign of Napoleon III.

The fall of the Republic of 1848 meant the defeat of the revolutionary principles and the establishment of an absolute government in France by Louis Napoleon. "The machinery of the government was elaborately designed so as to deceive the French people into thinking that they enjoyed self-government. The principle of the universal suffrage was preserved but was ingeniously rendered harmless to the autocrat." The Legislative Body and the Senate kept up the form of the constitutional government, but in reality the Emperor wielded absolute authority. France was no longer a land of freedom, and repression became the order of the

Character of the new government.

day. The new emperor tried to suppress the republicans completely by an organised system of espionage and by muzzling the press. In other respects he was progressive, as he sought to rule as a benevolent despot. He encouraged manufactures, commerce, and banking which largely increased the economic prosperity of the country. The splendours of the court were revived, Paris was beautified, and magnificent fêtes were celebrated.

Napoleon's domestic administration.

Napoleon III sought to divert the attention of the people of France from autocratic character of his rule at home by adopting a showy and aggressive foreign policy which would flatter the vanity of the French people who were always eager for military glory. He therefore joined England in the 'Crimean War' which was waged in 1855 on account of the re-opening of the Eastern Question due to Russia's designs against Turkey; but little did he gain for France when the *Peace of Paris* closed the war in 1856 (*Vide Bk. IV. Ch. V.*). Next he sided with the Italian patriots in the national war waged by them in 1859 against Austria, but suddenly halted in the midst of his victorious career and entered into a truce with Austria at *Villa Franca* in 1859 (*Vide Bk. IV. Ch. III.*). He however became entangled in hopeless embarrassments when he picked a quarrel with the king of Prussia, and the great 'Franco-Prussian War' (1870-71) began (*Vide IV. Ch. III.*). He however became entangled defeated at every point and the Emperor himself was made prisoner at *Sedan*. While he managed to escape to England, the Prussian army occupied Paris (1871). The Parisians, who had already declared France a Republic made peace

His foreign policy, and part in the foreign wars.

with Prussia at *Frankfort* by giving her a large war-indemnity, Alsace, and north-eastern part of Lorraine.

Foundation of the Third Republic.

Thus, ended Louis Napoleon's political career, plunging him and his country into misery and humiliation, and France once more became a republic,—the Third Republic.

Nopoleon I and Napoleon III—a Comparison and Contrast :

Comparison and contrast about—

(*a*) their genius;

Napoleon Bonaparte rose to the position of an Emperor from the humble rank of an artillery officer through his sheer dint of merit and extraordinary power of choosing the best instruments. His nephew Louis Napoleon became Emperor through sheer chance and conspiracy (so to call his *Coup d'état*). He had no genius of his uncle, no power of choosing the best methods

(*b*) their popular sympathy;

of success. Napoleon I won the love and admiration of all classes of the French people, and therefore his throne was safe. But Napoleon III was liked neither by the republicans nor by the royalists, neither by the nobility nor by the middle class. He had to seek the support of the peasants, the army, and

(*c*) their party-leadership.

the clergy to make his throne safe. Napoleon I founded progressive institutions and fostered them and became the leader of young and progressive Europe, but Napoleon III, as he was a socialist in possession of absolute power, always apprehended attacks both from the socialists and absolutists, because he was not expected to fulfil the dreams of either of them. So while Napoleon I, being the leader of a

(*d*) their strength of mind.

powerful section of European people, had a firm determination in what he did, Napoleon III, being leader of no party, had much vacillation in him. He could trust no party, and there-

fore, tried his best to save his throne by diverting men's minds from his degraded and corrupt government to excitements of foreign wars ; but his policy wrought his ruin.

Constitution of the Third Republic :

The constitution of the Third Republic, which met under its first President **Thiers** (1871), was not definitely settled till 1875 when two Chambers, an elective Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, were created. These two Houses meeting jointly elect the President whose position resembles that of a constitutional monarch. All the acts of the President must be countersigned by his ministers who thereby becomes responsible for them, the President being irresponsible except in the case of high treason. Though the cause of the French Republic has steadily advanced since then, none of the Presidents (except Thiers) have exercised a controlling influence on the history of France till the outbreak of the *Great War* of 1914. There have been important Prime Ministers as well—Gambetta, Jules Ferry, Waldeck-Rousseau ; but they have not left a more permanent impression than the Presidents in as much as their power does not rest upon a particular 'party' as in English political life.

Administrative system of France under the third Republic.

The Dangers of the Third Republic :

Though a parliamentary republic was established in France by the constitution of 1875, it was open to indirect attacks from the Legitimists and the Imperialists, who were powerfully supported by the Clerical or the Catholic party. The Republic granted complete freedom to the press and recognised the right of the citizens to hold public meetings without permission from

Domestic measures of the Republic.

the government (1881); national system of education was evolved, and primary education was made gratuitous and compulsary between the ages of six and thirteen and it was also made secular. But it took some years before the Republicans could secure full control over the discontented parties in the country, and the history of France during these years may best be grouped round those dangers that threatened the Republic.

Attacks upon the Republic: 1. The Boulangist movement, 1887.

The first of the series of these dangers was the '*Boulangist movement.*' General Boulanger, who was made the Minister of War in 1886, became a favourite of the soldiers by improving their conditions of life in the barracks and by advocating the reduction of their required term of service. Having control over several newspapers, he began to advocate through them that under his leadership France might take her revenge for the Franco-Prussian War upon Germany by a successful attack upon that country. Posing thus as the rescuer of the Republic, he was supported by discontented people of various shades—the Legitimists, the Imperialists and the Clericals. The overt aim of all of them was to "revise the constitution" so as to diminish the importance of the parliamentary institutions and to confer great powers upon the President who was to be elected directly by the people; but while Boulanger himself hoped for being the President, the Clericals or the Catholics longed for the restoration of the privileges of the church and the Legitimists and the Imperialists sought to shape the constitution as they liked best on the overthrow of the Republic. For three years Boulanger was supported enthusiastically and

Its aim.

was elected to the parliament by many constituencies and even by Paris. However before he could take the final step to seize power, the ministry ordered his arrest (1889). He escaped to Brussels, and his party fell to pieces.

Collapse of Boulangism 1889.

The next crisis in the life of the Republic was the '*Dreyfus affairé*'. In 1894, Captain Dreyfus, a Jewish officer in the army, was condemned guilty by a court-martial for betraying military secrets to Germany and expelled from the army and transported to the Devil's Isle in the West Indies. While this affair was treated as an instrument in the campaign against the Jews, the friends of Dreyfus protested against the monstrous wrong that had been done to Dreyfus. In 1896, however, Colonel Picquart, the head of the detective bureau in the War Office, produced evidence that Dreyfus was innocent of the charge, on which Picquart was removed from his office. At once a controversy began in France whether an appeal for revision of the sentence would be allowed, and all Europe took part in it. The anti-Dreyfusards consisting of the Monarchists, the Imperialists and the Clericals would not allow the question to be re-opened fearing apparently that the honor of the army would be at stake if the verdict of the court-martial was upset. But the public looked at the question from the view-point of the miserable prisoner, and distinguished men like Emile Zola, Anatole France, Scheurer-Kestner ranged on this side. Thus forced by public opinion, the whole case had to be reopened. Dreyfus was brought home and given a new trial before a court-martial at Rennes ; but he was again declared guilty, "with extenuating circumstances," and sentenced (1899). The

2. The Dreyfus case, 1894.

The issues at stake.

Second trial of Dreyfus, 1899.

honor of the army was thus maintained, but public opinion outside France was, as voiced in the *'London Times'*, "that the whole case against Captain Dreyfus * * * was foul with forgeries, lies, contradictions and puerilities, and that nothing to justify his condemnation had been shown." President Loubet, however, immediately pardoned Dreyfus, and he was released. This solution failed to satisfy either side, and the government, resolved to stop further discussion passed a bill granting amnesty to all those implicated in this notorious case (1900). Six years later the Court of Cassation quashed the verdict of the Rennes court-martial. Dreyfus was restored in the army and invested with a decoration of the Legion of Honor, and Picquart was made the Brigadier-General and subsequently War-Minister.

Dreyfus vinidicated.

Significance of the Dreyfus Affair.

The significance of this *'Dreyfus Affaire'* lies in the fact that the French society was frightfully torn into parties, and personal ambitions and party interests sought to use it for purposes of their own. The Monarchists, the Imperialists, and the Clericals seized it as an opportunity to declare that the Republic was a failure breeding treason, and ought to be abolished. The Republicans on the other hand became united more closely in a common programme to reduce the political importance of the Army and of the Church. The former was easily effected by removing the Monarchist officers. To solve the latter problem, Prime Minister Waldeck-Rousseau secured the passage of the *'Law of Associations'* (1901) whereby religious orders—orders of monks and nuns whose number and wealth had very largely increased—were subjected to close scrutiny, and many of them were

proscribed. Tens of thousands of monks were forced to leave France as exiles. All teachings by religious orders, even by those authorized, were also stopped, as the church schools were doing their best to make their pupils hostile to the Republic and to the republican ideals of Liberty and Equality insisted upon since the French Revolution. Lastly, the Concordat concluded between Napoleon I and Pope Pius VII in 1801 which determined the relations between the Church and the State and still remained in force was abrogated (1905). The State ceased to pay the salaries of the clergy and relinquished the right of their appointment; but 'Associations of Worship' were to be established which would take over the fabric of the churches. The Pope protested but in vain. The Church was thus definitely separated from the State.

Disestablishment of the Church.

CHAPTER III.

The Unifications of Italy and of Germany.

I. Winning of Italian Unity :

Different Schools of Italian Politicians :

The three schools of politicians, and their methods.

Though the Italians were united in their deadly hatred of the Austrians, they were divided in their views regarding the best plan for national organisation. Three different groups or schools of politicians held three sorts of opinions :—

Mazzini and the *'Young Italy'*.

(1) *The party of 'Giovane Italia' or 'Young Italy,'* founded by **Joseph Mazzini,** decided that the 'resurrection of Italy' (*Il Risorigimento d' Italia'*) rested on the expulsion of the foreigners, and the unity of Italy under a strong centralised Republic because no other form of government would satisfy Italian reason or tradition. Mazzini considered that it was useless to expect help from Catholicism in the work of 'regeneration' and advocated a purer religion so that Rome might once more assume the leadership of the world. "Great ideas," he said, "must precede great actions." He, therefore, "believed in the use of bayonets, but only on condition that they have ideas at their point." His party was therefore *philosophic* in its aims.

(2) *The party of Reformers,* founded by **Cavour,** a Piedmontese noble, who wanted to

attain 'unity' by producing a 'national' feeling through their writings and practical works, and hoped to secure 'liberty' by expelling Austria and her petty vassals from Italy with the help of Sardinia. This party was *practical* in its character.

Cavour and the *'Reformers'*

(3) *The Papal party,* founded by Vincenzo Gioberti, desired that the different states of Italy should be formed into a confederation under the leadership of the Pope, which would bring 'unity,' and the beneficial influence of the Pope over the confederation would lead to 'freedom'. This party brought forward the problem of Italian union most conspicuously.

The *'Papal party'*

Policy of Victor Emmanuel II, and of his Minister Cavour :

Since the suppression of the revolts of 1848, the Italian states were groaning under the tyranny of Austria and her petty vassals, while Sardinia-Piedmont came to be regarded by the patriots as the only pilot of hope. Victor Emmanuel II, the king of Sardinia, was an advocate of civil liberty, and his minister, **Cavour,** devoted himself to a patriotic administration. In spite of the Austrian offer of assistance to establish despotism in Piedmont, Victor Emmanuel had set himself from the very first to maintain the constitution granted by his father and to free Italy from foreign domination. He developed trade and industry in his dominions by removing the antiquated restrictions, and by construction of roads and railways. In all these Emmanuel was helped by his minister Cavour, who soon became the helmsman of Italian affairs. According to his advice, Sardinia now sided with England and France in the 'Crimean War' which broke out in 1854 (*Vide Bk.*

Sardinia, the only pilot of hope.

Cavour, the helmsman of Italian affairs.

IV. Ch. V.) and obtained their friendship. At the 'Congress of Paris' (1856), **Cavour**, who representated Sardinia, explained to the assembled Powers the evils of Italy arising from foreign domination and enlisted their sympathies.

Cavour's idea of securing foreign assistance for Italian liberation.

But to expel Austria from Italy was a difficult affair. The history of the last forty years had convinced Cavour that the policy of plots and insurrections as pursued by Mazzini would not advance the cause of Italian liberation. To do this, therefore, Cavour foresaw, not only the sympathies of powerful states, but also the need of their practical assistance. So he proceeded cautiously to secure the help of Napoleon III of France, and, in 1858, made with him a close alliance, known as the *Compact of Plombieres*. By it, it was arranged that Lombardy and Venice were to be annexed to Sardinia to form a kingdom of Northern Italy, and that France would help Sardinia in case of a war with Austria and in consideration of her service, she was to receive Savoy and Nice from Sardinia.

Compact of Plombieres, 1858.

The Austro-Sardinian War (1859-60):

Outbreak of the war.

Encouraged by the assurance of French assistance according to the 'Compact of Plombieres', **Cavour** began extensive military preparations which alarmed the Austrian government. Austria at once sent an ultimatum to Sardinia to disarm. On her refusal, Austria invaded her territory, and the war which Cavour had eagerly desired broke out (1859). Napoleon III came in person to assist Sardinia. **Garibaldi**, a native of Nice, who had also taken part in the uprising in Rome in 1848, now organised a body of volunteers, the *'Hunters of the Alps,'*

French assistance to Sardinia

who began to harass the Austrians at the foot of the Alps.

By the two great victories of *Magenta* and *Solfernio* (1859), The allied French and Sardinian troops drove the Austrian troops from Lombardy. All Italy was filled with high hope, and prayed for complete success of the allied arms. But the fire of joy soon became quenched, when Napoleon III, all on a sudden, signed the *Truce of Villa Franca* (1859) with Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria in which it was agreed that Sardinia would get Lombardy, Austria would retain Venice, the smaller princes were to be restored, and Italy was to be a federal state under the presidency of the Pope. Napoleon had entered into this treaty under pressure of French public opinion which dreaded the building up of a strong and powerful Italy close on the borders of France. **Cavour**, urged Emmanuel to repudiate the treaty, but he prudently declined: Cavour heart-broken for the moment, resigned.

Victories of the allies.

Truce of Villa Franca.

Cavour's opposition.

By the peace which followed, Sardinia formally obtained Lombardy, and had to give Venice to Austria, and Savoy and Nice to France. But Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and Romagna, which had on the news of the victories besought Victor Emmanuel to be united with his kingdom, now became formally annexed to Sardinia to form a kingdom of Northern Italy (1860). *The shore of Italian Regeneration now came within view.*

Peace with Austria.

Formation of the Northern Italian Kingdom.

Progress of Italian Unity:

The first step in the unification of Italy being taken, Victor Emmanuel and Cavour (who had returned to the ministry), now secretly permitted **Garibaldi** with his famous '*Hunters of the Alps*',

Garibaldi and his *'Hunters of the Alps,'* annexed, Sicily.

to harass the Austrians in the Alpine regions. **Garibaldi,** however with his noble band of 'thousand heroes,' landed in *Sicily* (1860) where the patriots had risen against the tyranny of the Bourbon king of Naples, and annexed that island in the name of Victor Emmanuel.

Garibaldi in Naples.

He then entered *Naples,* and the king having fled, he conquered it (1860). In the meantime, Victor Emmanuel's troops invaded and conquered the Papal dominions of *Umbria* and *the Marches* where rebellions had broken out. Cavour now feared that Garibaldi might refuse to bring Naples and Sicily under the kingdom of Northern Italy ; but he was wrong in mistrusting Garibaldi who handed over his conquests to Victor Emmanuel and refusing all honours and rewards retired into private life on account of his difference from Cavour in domestic and foreign policy.

Garibaldi handed over his conquests to Victor Emmanuel.

Thus 'the kingdom of Northern Italy' almost became 'the kingdom of Italy,' Venice in the north and Rome in the centre still remaining to be conquered. Victor Emmanuel and **Cavour** thought it prudent to consolidate what they had conquered and not to launch immediately on a hazardous war with Austria and France by attempting to conquer Venice and Rome, as the former was an Austrian possession, and the latter a Papal possession protected by French troops since the overthrow of Mazzini's Roman Republic in 1848. In 1861 the first Italian Parliament representing all the kingdoms except Venice and Rome, met at Turin and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel 'King of Italy'. Cavour suddenly died shortly after (1861), with the satisfaction of seeing his hopes almost realised. His master waited patiently for auspicious moments

Cavour's cautious move.

Victor Emmanuel king of united Italy.

when the union of all Italy would be completed by the acquisition of Venice and Rome.

Completion of Italian Unity :

In 1866 when 'Austro-Prussian War' broke out, Victor Emmanuel entered into alliance with Bismarck of Prussia and promised to weaken the efforts of the Austrians in Germany by an attack upon Venice. Though the Italian army was severely beaten at *Custozza* and the Italian fleet signally defeated near *Lissa* by Austria, the glorious Prussian victory of *Sadowa* was enough to secure Venice for Italy at the *Peace of Prague* which concluded the war (*Vide poste p. 341*). Again in 1870, with the outbreak of the 'Franco-Prussian War' when France had to withdraw her troops from Rome, Italy seized the opportunity to occupy Rome, the 'Eternal City,' which henceforth became the capital of united Italy.

The Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian Wars completed the union of Italy.

The Union of Italy was now complete and the shore of Italian regeneration was reached.

The Position of the Papacy :

The occupation of Rome by the Italian government ended the temporal power of the Pope long exercised by him. His activities became confined within the 'Vatican' palace, and by the *'Law of the Papal Guarantees'* (1871) he was secured in the free exercise of his spiritual functions. But he was not to be considered as a subject of the Italian government, rather his position became that of a sovereign residing at Rome with a right to send and to receive embassies. This anomalous position of the Pope has led to his attitude of hostility towards the Italian government, and has no less

End of the temporal power of the Papacy.

hampered the latter in carrying out many of its policies of reform.

Pope Pius IX who lost the temporal power of the Papacy died in 1898, and was followed in the Pontificate by Leo XIII who won a name as the greatest and the best of the Popes and died at the ripe old age of ninety-three (1903). Pius X succeeded in the Papacy.

An Estimate of Cavour :

Endowed with a pronounced political genius and a rare foresight, the great statesman, **Cavour,** had clearly realised the necessity of a united Italy free from foreign domination. The July revolution of 1830 in France greatly influenced his political ideas, and instead of adopting the doctrinaire liberalism of the time he began to advocate the cause of constitutional reforms in Italy. His views were strengthened with his study of the British constitution of which he was an admirer. A moderate liberal in his ideas, Cavour was never a political dreamer ; while Mazzini wished to liberate Italy solely through education and arms, Cavour perceived that Italy could not be free without foreign assistance. He made an adroit use of Napoleon III in the cause of his country, and he cleverly evaded the Treaty of Villa Franca and persuaded Garibaldi, 'the Knight-errant of Italian independence' to make his master king of united Italy. In his domestic policy a believer in progress, he encouraged trade and education, and used the principles of constructive statesmanship to unite the various states of Italy into one homogeneous whole. 'A free church in a free state' was his motto, and he devoted his whole sole and energy to its achievement ; and although other men and other forces co-

(*a*) Cavour, an advocate of constitutional reforms :

(*b*) Difference between Cavour and Mazzini :

(*c*) Domestic policy of Cavour :

operated in the movement, it was Cavour who organized it and skilfully removed all obstacles from its way which led to its ultimate success. Thus, he was "undoubtedly the greatest figure of the *"Risorgimento,"* and his death in 1861 at the early age of fifty-one was an immense loss to Italy. The great English statesman, Lord Palmerston, has rightly remarked of him, "Cavour left a name 'to point a moral and adorn a tale.' The moral was that a man of transcendent talent, indomitable industry, inextinguishable patriotism, could overcome difficulties which seemed insurmountable and confer the greatest, the most inestimable benefits on his country. The tale with which his memory would be associated was the most extraordinary, the most romantic, in the annals of the world. A people which had seemed dead had arisen to new and vigorous life, breaking the spell which bound it, and showing itself worthy of a new and splendid destiny."

(*d*) Success of Cavour.

Italy since the Union :

Since the Union much has been done for the progress of Italy. By suppressing brigandage, by constructing railways, by tunneling the Alps, by improving the systems of drainage in the more insanitary districts of Campagna &c., by introducing a public system of education and thereby regenerating the masses from their deep moral degradation, Italy has been raised to the position of a great European power. Victor Emmanuel II died in 1878, and was succeeded by his son Humbert I. Humbert followed an ill-advised colonial policy in Africa and was anticipated by the French government in establishing a protectorate over Tunis. This led Italy to nourish ill-will against France and the dread of

Internal progress of Italy.

French intervention on behalf of the Pope led her to enter into the *Triple Alliance* with Germany and Austria to maintain the peace of Europe (1882). This famous alliance became the dominant factor in European diplomacy till it was denounced during the *'Great War'* of 1914. Led by the desire to rank among the world-powers, Italy however continued her ambitious colonial policy in East Africa which involved her in a war with Abyssinia and in a disaster in 1896 in the *battle of Adowa*. This policy of aggrandizement involving heavy taxation increased the popular discontent, and riots broke out in many places which had to be suppressed after much bloodshed. King Humbert was assassinated by an Italian anarchist in 1900, and was succeeded by his son Victor Emmanuel III.

II. Unification of Germany :

Earlier Efforts for German Unity :

The Zollverein —first step towards unity.

In 1818, Prussia, had become the centre of a commercial union among the German states, called the *Zollverein*, by which none of the members could levy any duty on merchandise passing from one state to another. During the German Liberal movement of 1830, Prussia, however, as a member of the 'Holy Alliance' had tried to suppress the movement for the freedom and union of Germany, though at the time she was unconsciously working out the union of that country by fostering the *Zollverein*. In course of the popular attempts of 1848 to form a German Federal State under a common Emperor and common Parliament, Prussia had consented to take the leadership abandoning the 'Holy Alliance' and

Attempts of Prussia to effect the unity in 1848.

adopting the principles of constitutionalism; but she failed in her attempt owing to the jealousy of Austria against her and the humiliating 'Convention of Olmutz' impressed on her the need of a different policy and different preparations to realise her dream of leadership in Germany (*vide ante pp. 315-317*).

Failure of Prussia, and its causes.

The moment to realise the dream presented itself in 1866 when the Schleswig-Holestein problem came to be solved on the point of bayonet, and Austria was excluded from Germany by the 'Austro-Prussian War'. Of course, it was not till the conclusion of the 'Franco-Prussian War' in 1871, that the unification of all Germany was complete.

Unification of Germany not completed till 1871.

The Schleswig-Holstein Question (1864)

The two Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein forming the southern half of the Danish peninsula had for centuries been united with Denmark in a personal union; but there was no constitutional union between them. The inhabitants of the two duchies were mostly Germans, and they had their own laws and constitution. Holstein was also a member of the German Confederation, but Schleswig was not. When the Germans in Schleswig tried to bring about its admission into the Confederation the Danes objected, and in 1863 King Christian IX of Denmark declared Schleswig incorporated in Denmark. At this the German inhabitants of the two duchies offered vehement opposition, and repudiated the Danish king. **Bismarck**, the Prussian minister, saw in the situation a chance for possible aggrandisement of Prussia and induced Austria to co-operate with Prussia in settling the Schleswig-Holstein question. Accordingly, in 1864, Prussian and

Schleswig and Holstein united in personal union with Denmark.

Circumstances leading to the cession of the Duchies to Austro-Prussia.

Austrian troops invaded Denmark and compelled the Danish king to cede the two duchies to them jointly to be disposed of in the way they chose.

The Austro-Prussian War, 1866:

Quarrel between Austria and Prussia about Schleswig and Holstein.

After the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein were conquered from Denmark, a quarrel arose about the division of the spoils between Prussia and Austria. The quarrel developed into a war in 1866, and this was exactly what **Bismarck** wanted. Italy sided with Prussia on receiving hopes from Bismarck to get Venice in return; while Bavaria, Hanover, Saxony, and most of the other German states sided with Austria. The contest though seemed to be an unequal one, Prussia with her best disciplined army, equipped with breach-loading needle-guns and headed by the great commander **Von Moltke**, occupied Hesse-Cassel and Saxony, and within seven weeks won a decisive victory over the Austrians and her allies at *Sadowa* (1866). The Italian defeat at *Custozza* and off *Lissa* (*Vide ante p. 339.*) had very little effect on the course of the war. The Prussians now pushed on towards Vienna, and Emperor Francis Joseph sued for peace. By the *Peace of Prague* Austria agreed to withdraw from the old German confederation (*Statenbund*), ceded Venice to Italy, allowed Prussia to arrange the new constitution for the German states and gave her the possessions of Hanover, Nassau, and most of the other North German states which had been all hostile to Prussia, as also Schleswig and Holstein.

Austrian defeat at Sadowa, and its results:

Acquisitions of Prussia—her leadership in Germany assured.

Thus Austria being shut out from Germany and the hostile Northern states being conquered, **Bismarck** saw that there was nothing to bar Prussia from taking the leadership in Germany. He replaced the old useless *Staten-*

bund by the North German Confederation (1876), consisting of all states to the north of the Maine, under the presidency of the Prussian king and with a Popular Assembly (*Reichstag*) for legislative purposes to be chosen by direct suffrage, and a federal council (*Bundesrath*) presided over by the Prussian Chancellor or chief minister. The *Reichstag* controlled finance and passed or rejected the legislations initiated by the *Bundesrath*, but unlike the English Parliament it had no control over the ministers or right of direct interference with the executive. **Bismarck** then organised military service on the Prussian system, and made it compulsory on all citizens over seventeen years of age.

Establishment of the North German Confederation by Bismarck.

Thus, as the result of the 'Seven Weeks' War' as this war was called, while the north became united by a strong common bond, the south remained detached and feeble. But there soon happened an event which *spontaneously* united the south with the north: it was the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.

Political effects of the war.

The Dual Empire of Austria-Hungary:

The disasters of *Sadowa* taught Austria to realise how fatal to the Empire was the discontent and disunion of the subject people, and Emperor Francis Joseph became now ready to make concessions to the national aspirations of the Magyars and to establish a popular government. The task of reorganisation was entrusted to Count Beust, ex-minister of Saxony, who restored the old sysytem of 'Dualism' by an agreement known as the *Ausgleich* (Compromise): by it the Hapsburg dominions were divided into a Austrian and a Hungarian half, each with its own Diet, one sitting at Vienna and the other at Budapesth, and each to have

Reorganisation of the Austrian Empire:

Compromise between Austria and Hungary.

complete control of its own internal affairs; joint *'delegations'* were appointed by the two Diets to decide imperial questions, and there were to be three common ministers for finance, war, and foreign relations (1876). Though this 'dual system' has thus bridged over the gulf between the Hungarian people and the House of Hapsburg, it has failed to satisfy the national aspirations of the other races or the nationalities of the monarchy of which there are many. Indeed the Austro-Hungarian monarchy proved to be a "European Tower of Babel" and the Slavs refused to acquiesce in the *'dual'* system and constantly demanded the unique position and privileges as granted to the Hungarians.

The dependent races, specially the Slavs, not satisfied with the *'Dual System'*.

The Franco-Prussian War (1870-71):

Its causes:

Emperor Napoleon III of France had expected to make additions to the French territory in course of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, but he had been foiled in his plans by the rapid success of Prussia in the war and for the absence of the best French troops in Mexico on an expedition there which too proved a failure. He next tried to purchase Luxemburg from the king of Holland, but a diplomatic conference held at London through the intervention of Prussia declared Luxemburg a neutral territory. Napoleon, already indignant at the formation of a strong German Empire right on the frontier of France, now sought to humble Prussia and began to wait for a pretext.

(a) French jealousy of Prussia, due to, the Mexican muddle, and the Luxemburg affair:

The pretext however presented soon. When in 1869, Isabella II, the dissolute queen of Spain, fled to France at the outbreak of an internal revolt against the despotism of the

(b) The dynastic crisis in Spain, and the

Camarilla of priests and courtiers who advised her, the Spanish crown was offered to Prince Leopold of the Hohenzollern family; but Leopold, to avoid displeasing Napoleon with whom he had family connections, refused the offer. Napoleon, however, interpreted the whole affair as an intrigue of **Bismarck** to extend Prussian authority in Europe, and, in spite of Leopold's public renunciation of the proffered crown, sent Count Benedetti direct to King William I then at the little watering-place of Ems, demanding an assurance from him that he would on no future occasion authorise the renewal of Prince Leopold's candidature. The king courteously refused and sent a telegram to Bismarck with permission to make such use of the message as he saw fit. Bismarck published the telegram in such a way as to convey the impression that the French ambassador had been bursquely dismissed by the Prussian king. France now declared war upon Prussia, and the states of the North German Confederation as well as those of the South considering the cause to be a *national* one placed their armies at the disposal of the Prussian king. Now "for the first time in centuries a united Germany marched to meet the foes of Germany."

Hohenzollern candidature:

(c) The episode of the 'Ems telegram'.

Its Incidents:

The German army under the direction of Von Moltke, defeated the French successively at *Wissenburg, Worth,* and *Gravelotte* and marched on Paris. On the way, the Germans, meeting a vast French army under Nepoleon III completely defeated it at *Sedan* (1870) and made Napoleon III a prisoner. The German army then besieged *Paris*. The people of France who had after the capture of Napoleon declared

German victories.

Siege and capitulation of Paris.

depended on the military resources of his country and adopted a *'blood and iron'* policy—a policy to overturn every opposition with violence without caring anything for moral considerations.

Foreign policy of Bismarck.

Since the creation of the New German Empire (1871), **Bismarck** as the Imperial Chancellor, began to direct the foreign and home policy of the Empire, and to keep Germany sufficiently strong against France entered into a league (*the Dreikaiserbund*) with the Emperors of Austria and Russia. This *League of the Three Emperors*, however, being practically dissolved after the *Congress of Berlin* in which Bismarck presided, a *Triple Alliance* was concluded with Austria and Italy (1882) in order to protect mutual interests. It came to be an important factor in the *'Great War'* of 1914.

His domestic reforms.

In 1884, Bismarck adopted a new policy of colonial expansion which was being followed till the eve of the *'Great War.'* He introduced protective tariff in Germany, which has made her a great commercial nation ; and his important Army reforms have since made Germany a military autocracy in Europe. With the steady growth of Socialism in Germany, Bismarck passed severe measures and tried to enforce them ruthlessly by the police, but they failed in their objects. He then sought to win the working classes away from the Socialist party by passing certain laws, *e.g.* 'Sickness Insurance Law,' 'Accident Insurance Law' 'Old Age Insurance Law,' to convince them that the State took a deep interest in their welfare.

His *Kulturkampf.*

He also carried on the so-called *Kulturkampf* ('war of cults') when the Roman Catholic church which was hostile to the new German

Empire for giving predominance to Protestant Prussia ; laws were passed to restrain the power of the Catholic clergy which the Pope declared null and void ; but at last to secure Catholic support for some of his other measures, Bismarck effected a compromise with the Papacy and the long struggle ended in crushing ultramontane arrogance (1887).

Measures of Bismarck against the Catholic Church.

Emperor William I died in 1888 and was succeeded by his son Frederick III who too died after a short reign of three months. In 1890, Frederick's son and successor, the young Emperor William II, brusquely dismissed him, as co-operation between these two lovers of power became impracticable when **Bismarck** insisted that ministers of departments should only communicate with the crown through him ; and henceforth began the personal rule of the Kaiser in Germany.

Accession of Kaiser William II, and the downfall of Bismarck

Thus, for twenty years holding his own in Germany and in the world, manipulating adroitly the threads of home and foreign policy on astute lines of action, and overcoming all opposition whether at home or abroad with an irresistable force of will, the great Imperial Chancellor stood in lonely eminence, desirous of nothing but the reality of power, not for his own sake but for the Fatherland—the united German Empire, which was his creation and for which he is rightly said to be the *'Cavour of Germany,'* though in his political principles he differed much from the Italian statesman. He died in 1898 at the good old age of eighty-three with the satisfaction of seeing the solidarity of the German Empire.

Estimate of Bismarck.

Bismarck, the 'Cavour of Germany'.

CHAPTER IV.

England in the Nineteenth Century.

Chief Features of the Period :

The history of England since the battle of Waterloo (1815) is a history briefly of five broad national movements regarding the progress towards Democracy, the Humanitarian movement, the extension of the principle of Religious equality, the Irish problems, and the Expansion of England overseas.

Progress towards Democracy :

Since the 'Glorious' Revolution of 1688, the elective branch of the Parliament rested upon a very narrow electorate, chiefly consisting of the rich upper classes. The Tories, though they acknowledged the sovereignty of the Parliament were opposed to any change. It was the Whigs who became the champions of democratic principles and wanted to make the kings dependent upon the Parliament and the Parliament dependent upon the people.

The Whigs as champions of democracy.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, some statesmen of liberal ideas, notably **Pitt the Younger,** began to urge reform in the electoral system. The French Revolution at first gave a fresh impulse to those liberal tendencies, but the wild excesses of the revolutionists terrified the English Liberals, and the democratic movement, being looked upon with distrust, was given up for the time being. The death of George III (1820) and the accession of

Effects of the French Revolution on the English Liberals.

George IV did not alter the situation, and the Tories continued to monopolise political power. But England's industrial development resulting from fortunate mechanical inventions, together with the growing enlightenment of the people, revived the democratic sentiments and led to a widespread demand for political reform.

Revival of democratic sentiments.

While on the continent Liberal movements, born out of the French Revolution, were dealt with by the iron hands of despots and Liberalism could triumph at last only through revolutions, in England the government made timely concessions to the growing spirit of Democracy. Thus in the nineteenth century, we have, instead of a series of revolutions, a series of reform measures, which, gradually popularising the House of Commons, at last made the English people a really self-governing nation.

Difference in treatment of the liberal aspirations in England and on the continent.

These reform measures are the *Reform Bills* of 1832, 1867, and 1884. In 1830 the 'July Revolution' of France gave force to the reform movement in England where the seats in the Parliament were still distributed according to the old system of franchise. As the result of the industrial revolution, the population of England had migrated largely to the north where sprang up many new areas and towns which remained unrepresented in the Parliament, while many decayed and thinly peopled districts and towns of the south still returned members there.. This anomalous state of things seemed indefensible, and *'Reformers' Unions'* began to agitate strongly against the existing system of the franchise. The House of Commons contained a strong majority for reform, but the House of Lords resisted as long as it could. At last in June 1832, the first *Reform Act* was passed and

Circumstances leading to the Reform movement in England.

The Reform Bill of 1832.

received the assent of King William IV. This Act may rightly be called *'the Magna Charta of English democracy.'* By it the English electoral system was radically changed. Eighty-six of the decayed boroughs, "rotton boroughs" as they were called, were disfranchised or semi-disfranchised; their seats were distributed amongst countries and large towns hitherto unrepresented, and the right to vote was extended to additional classes of citizens. The Reform Act of 1832 however transferred power from the hands of the aristocrats to the middle classes only, but it did nothing for the industrial and agricultural classes of the population. After the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne (1837), these discontented people carried on an agitation, called *'Chartism'*, demanding universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, abolition of property qualification for members of Parliament, and payment of the members. The movement became violent in 1884—the year of European Revolutions. But it ultimately died out, owing to ridicule and want of capable leader and also because of the growing prosperity of the country resulting from the *Repeal of the Corn Laws* and the adoption of Free Trade since 1846. Practical need however arose for the extension of the franchise, and the second *Reform Act* of 1867 enfranchised the bulk of the labouring classes and the tenant farmers by largely extending the right of voting. It was taking no 'leap in the dark' to admit the working classes, or the 'fourth estate' as we may call it, to a share in the government. Lord Derby's apprehension has proved to be false. The third *Reform Act* of 1884 passed at the instance of Gladstone next increased the number of voters

'Chartism' and its suppression.

Reform Bill of 1867.

from about three millions to over five millions so that the mass of the workingmen including the agricultural labourers got the right to vote whether they lived in the town or country. As it was more radical and sweeping in its provisions than any preceding measure, it gave England almost universal suffrage. Reform Bill of 1884.

The Humanitarian Movement :

The ideal of Liberty has been given a new meaning to by the French Revolution. It means freedom not of one's own self but of all. It is catholic in sympathy. "The law of God," wrote Mazzini, "has not two weights and two measures : Christ came for all : He spoke to all : He died for all.....we protest, then, against all inequality, against all oppression, wheresoever it is practised.....This forms the essence of what men have agreed to call the Democratic movement." This new ideal of Liberty led to the "consciousness of the claims of human weakness." Slavery in the British colonies was abolished by an Act in 1833. The traffic in human flesh is now penalised. The criminal in the prison and the insane in the asylum are humanely treated. A growing sense of corporate responsibility towards the poor has led to the establishment of such philanthropic institutions as hospitals, alms-houses, people's palaces etc., and to the introduction of such system as old age pensions, insurance against employment etc. The labour has been saved from the exploitation of the plutocrat by the *Factory legislations* of Shaftesbury. Other legislations *e.g.* Huskisson's abolition of duties on many raw materials, Peel's *Repeal of the Corn-laws* and adoption of Free Trade (1846) have cheapened the food of the poor, improved their dwellings and enabled

The new ideal of 'Liberty'.

The humanitarian legislations.

them to work out their own salvation. No movement for reform in the history of England was so well-organised or so powerfully conducted as the Anti-Corn Law movement led by Cobden and Bright. Laws have also improved the conditions of child-labour and women-labour, restrained the cruelty of parents and have placed elementary education within the reach of every child.

Change in the ideal of womanhood.

The ideal of womanhood has undergone a remarkable change. In the eighteenth century, woman's mental inferiority was taken for granted. She was treated rather with gallantry than with respect. Education was denied to her, lest she would be a troublesome wife or cease to be a woman. Divines gravely discussed the question whether woman had a soul. Marriage was regarded as the only object of her existence. Her only duty was to please man. For this she was to be educated, if to be educated at all, dressed and launched in society. The great wave of democratic and humanitarian feeling that passed over English life in the nineteenth century prepared the minds of men to receive the message of emancipation of women. It has come to be recognised that woman would be true woman when all the latent possibilities of her nature—physical, mental, and moral—would be fully developed. Schools and colleges, institutes of science, literature, and philosophy are now open to her. Her position in society has improved and is improving. She has realised her mission and purpose in life—that she is an end as well as a means, she has duties to herself as well as to others. No doubt, the Suffragist puts forward extravagant claims, and we hear to-day about the unsexing of woman. But such

Emancipation of women.

a thing is the fruit of long ages of repression which must disappear in a free condition of society. Look to the other side of the shield—the 'Sisters of Mercy' ministering like angels to the suffering humanity in European fields of battle!

Extension of the Principle of Religious Equality:

"Liberty and Equality, though united in the revolutionary banner of 1793, often appear in irreconcilable antagonism." If, however, Liberty be catholic in sympathy and if Equality means every man's consciousness of kinship with others which is alien to the spirit of caste, the two ideals are not inconsistent. If this be true, the statement that at the opening of the nineteenth century there was in England "religious freedom, but no religious equality" can be understood easily. At the beginning of that century, one might be a Catholic or a Protestant Dissenter without any breach of law or fear of persecution, but certain public offices were closed against him for his so doing. Where there was such discrimination against any religious sect or where any one sect was favoured by the government, there could be no religious equality, although there might be religious freedom. A true sense of religious toleration, however, dawned upon the English mind through the *Methodists* who began to demand the removal of all civil disabilities from the Protestant Dissenters by largely increasing their numbers. These disabilities of the Protestant Dissenters were removed by the *Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts* (1828). The Catholics and the Jews, who got no relief, demanded similar concessions; and the disabilities were gradually removed from the

Existence of religious freedom, but no religious equality.

The effects of Methodism.

Measures leading to religious equality.

Catholics by the passing of the *Catholic Emancipation* Act (1829), and from the Jews by the *Jewish Relief Act* (1858). Forty years after the Catholic Emancipation Act, the English government took another great step in the direction of religious equality, and this by the *Disestablishment of the State-Church* in Ireland. The vast majority of the Irish people who were Catholics in religion had to pay tithes and fees for the maintnance of the English Church in Ireland in which they did not believe. This rank injustice of forcing the Anglican church-worship upon the Irish Catholic was actually felt by such liberal statesmen, as Bright and **Gladstone,** under whose lead the Irish church was disestablished and disendowed in 1869. The Irish church henceforth came to be a free Episcopal church.

Disestablishment of the Irish Church 1869.

Irish Problems :

The history of Ireland in the nineteenth century is mainly a story of Irish grievances against England. These grievances arose out of three distinct yet closely related subjects—religion, Home Rule, and the land. Concerning religious grievances and their redress we have already spoken. We are now to deal with the Home Rule and the land questions.

Three Irish grievances.

Irish Home Rule Movement :

The *Act of Union* passed in 1800 merged the Irish Parliament sitting at Dublin in the Parliament at Westminister, and Ireland was given representation in the latter. Irish patriots, who did not like this union, started an agitation for its repeal. In the early forties, the agitation under the guidance of Daniel O'Conell assumed the character of a rebellion. In the sixties,

Agitation for the Repeal of the Union.

it was carried to the point of actual insurrection under the name of *Fenianism* which was suppressed. It was not long before, the Irish question again came to the front. In 1886 when **William Gladstone,** the Liberal statesman, became Prime minister for the third time, he introduced in the Commons a Home Rule bill for Ireland. The aim of the bill was to create an Irish legislature at Dublin which was to deal with Irish affairs exclusively. The bill was rejected by the Commons and Gladstone had to retire. The agitation, however, continued. When Gladstone again became Prime minister for the fourth time (1892), he brought in a new Home Rule Bill in 1893 essentially alike his first. It passed the Commons but was rejected by the Lords. Gladstone died in 1893, and with him the cause of Irish Home Rule seemed to have gone to the grave. The conservative ministry of Lord Salisbury, however, passed an *Act creating Local Councils* in Ireland (1898), to satisfy Irish aspirations partially. But this was "to kill Home Rule with kindness," no doubt. However the cry for Home Rule was not 'killed'. Fenianism was re-born in *Sin-fienism,* and the *'Great War'* made the issues rather grave and serious. The bill was at last passed through the repeated attempts of Mr. **Asquith,** the liberal Prime Minister of George V, who had been able to pass a measure limiting the veto of the House of Lords on a legislation to two years, and it received the royal assent in Sept., 1914 though on the same day its operation was suspended till the termination of the *'Great War.'*

Fenianism.

Gladstone and the Home Rule Bill.

Irish Local government Act, 1898.

'Sin Fienism.'

Home Rule Bill passed, 1914.

Irish Land Questions :

So much clamour of Irish patriots for a separate Irish legislature was partially due to

Agrarian troubles.

agrarian troubles. The greater part of Ireland was owned by absent and oppressive English landlords and the majority of the Irish people were their tenants, whose grievances were never heard and whose sufferings under oppression knew no bounds. To alleviate the distress of the Irish tenants, the British Parliament passed a long series of *Land Acts* in 1870, 1881, 1891—some of these to secure for the tenant fair, reasonable, and fixed rent, and to protect him against unjust eviction, and others to secure for the evicted tenant compensation for improvements made by him upon the land. But the *Irish Land Purchase Act* of 1903 is the most important, as, by it, the government pays a part of the purchase price when the tenant purchases his own holding. As a result of this measure, the economic prosperity of Ireland has steadily increased.

Irish Land Laws.

Irish Land Purchase Bill.

Expansion of England:

The expansion of England in the nineteenth century does not merely mean the conquest of foreign lands beyond the seas. It means new conquests no doubt, but also consolidation and reorganisation of colonies and countries gained in the eighteenth century with an increased interest in them and with reference to the new, rich, and progressive civilisation born out of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Revolution. Disraeli, the famous English minister, referring to England's colonial possessions, once said—"Those wretched colonies are mill-stones about our neck." This he said because England lost her thirteen colonies of North America before the end of the eighteenth century and other colonies were constant sources of England's great anxiety and trouble. But

English Expansion —what it means?

before the close of the nineteenth century, there sprang up a most extraordinary revival of England's interest in colonies and dependencies. This revival of interest may be traced to the following causes—(*a*) the rapid increase in population, which began to inundate the colonies; (*b*) the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century, which made England dependant upon her colonies and dependencies for the supply of raw materials and for the largest sale of her manufactures; (*c*) the vast and new fields of industrial and mining enterprise which the colonies and dependencies opened up to England; (*d*) the growing sense of responsibility to inferior races which the idea of equality fostered; and (*e*) the new idea of Imperialism, or Federation of the Empire.

Causes of the expansion in the 19th century.

In North America, England lost her thirteen colonies owing to her irresponsible government there (1776). Still half of North America (Canada) remained in her hands. To consolidate it, England gave to her provinces *Responsible government* (1841). In 1867, the Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick were united under the name of the Dominon of Canada. The Dominion's constitution, save as to the federal principle, is modelled after the British. The Dominion has become England's tower of strength and a great home of the Anglo-Saxon race with her inexhaustible mineral deposits, unrivalled fisheries, limitless wheat fields, her free institutions and bracing climate.

England in America.

The Dominion of Canada, and its importance.

Australia and new Zealand were discovered, and possessed in England's name by Captain Cook (1769-71). Agricultural riches of the new islands, their genial climate, and the discovery of rich gold fields there soon drew a stream of

England in Australasia:

English immigrants in the nineteenth century. New Zealand became a rich colony and five flouishing colonies (New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia and West Australia) sprang up in Australia, with free institutions. All the colonies received responsible governments and just at the opening of the twentieth century the colonies of Australia have become a federal union—the Commonwealth of Australia. These colonies have proved England's source of strength in danger.

The Commonwealth of Australia.

England in Asia.

In Asia, England founded the British Empire in India in the eighteenth century. Throughout the nineteenth century she steadily advanced her frontiers here by land and sea, consolidated her power, and expanded her commercial market. All these involved her in several foreign wars, the most important of which are the *Afghan Wars*, and the *Opium* War with China (1839-42). In 1854 broke out the *Sepoy Mutiny* in India which led to the transference of the government of India from the hands of the East India Company to the English Crown. Since then India is being ruled by England peacefully in the interests of the former country, and more than three hundred millions of Indian people are living happily and most loyally under the wardship of that European kingdom. In the *'Great War,'* loyal India threw open all her resources, money and men alike, to England, and England has declared that *'progressive realisation of a Responsible government'* is the goal of the British policy in India. Japan has also become a faithful ally of England in Asia.

The Dependency of India.

India and the Great War.

England in Africa:

Over Egypt, England and France established a dual protectorate in 1876. In 1882, France retiring, England became her sole protector.

Since then Egypt has wonderfully advanced in civilisation and wealth. As an incident of the *Great War,* Egypt was formally annexed to the British Empire and declared a "protected state" (1915). The Egyptians however continued an agitation for self-government which has been almost conceded very recently, with British control over the Suez—the key to the Indian Ocean. In Africa, England however played a great part in its partition with other European powers in the nineteenth century and got the lion's share of the spoils. Cape Colony, Natal, dependencies with England established in West, East, and Central Africa were linked with the Transvaal and Orange River states—the lands of the Boers, after the great *Boer War* (1899-1902), forming a vast empire. The South African States however have been given, very recently, a federal constitution, and the federal union goes by the name of the South African Union. Besides, in course of the *'Great War'* of 1914 most of the German colonies in Africa have come under the possession of England.

Scramble for Africa.

Now England's sceptre rules her colonies and dependencies, inhabited by diverse races and speaking various languages ; her colonies have been given democratic forms of governments ; her great dependency India, has obtained the rudiments of a democratic constitution with openings for future expansion. India has been given a place in the councils of the Empire, and her political institutions, rapidly developing, are moving towards the complete democratic ideal. The highest ideal of British and Colonial politicians is to establish a great Federal Parliament in which representatives from the British as well as the Colonial Parliaments should sit to

Idea of the British Federal Parliament.

discuss Imperial questions. The War Cabinet of the British Dominions that sat from time to time in England during the *'Great War'* partially fulfilled the idea, and if a great Federal Parliament be finally decided to be established, the great British Empire would really grow to be a *World Federation,* unknown in the history of the world.

British Empire or Federation.

English Foreign Policy since the Waterloo:

The Napoleonic wars had exhausted England to a great extent and her foreign policy since the battle of Waterloo was largely pacific. The English statesmen of the nineteenth century, except Lord Palmerston, disliked European entanglements which would involve England into war. After the battle of Waterloo, the 'Holy Alliance' practically determined the international situation in Europe, and the English minister Castlereagh, unsympathetic in his attitude, did nothing to counteract its unjust policy of interference in the internal affairs of other states. But **Canning,** the champion of the great causes abroad, definitely stood against the policy of the 'Holy Alliance' and sent assistance to Portugal to support the constitutional cause, and recognised the independence of the Spanish colonies in America that had revolted against the mother country. Again when the Greeks rose in revolt against the oppressive rule of the Turks, Canning was able to persuade Czar Nicholas I and Charles X of France to join hands with Britain in suggesting terms to Turkey ; but on the refusal of Turkey to accept the same the allied English and French fleet crushed the Turkish naval power in 1827 at *Navarino* (*Vide Bk. IV. Ch. I.*) The idea of

General policy was one of peace.

The Holy Alliance and the foreign policy of Canning.

'Nationality' born out of the struggle almost dissolved the 'Holy Alliance'.

Lord Palmerston who succeeded Canning in the foreign office, being "an eager and somewhat blatant patriot, hostile to and rather contemptuous of the strong monarchies of the continent", gave to British foreign policy a "truculent and aggressive character." He aimed at helping all movements for establishing independent nationalities and constitutional governments abroad and maintaining the integrity of the Turkish empire. Thus at his instance Belgian independence was recognised in 1830 by the European powers, and the famous *Quadruple Alliance* was formed to support the causes of the constitutional queens of Spain and Portugal as against their absolutist uncles who were being backed by Russia, Prussia and Austria, the three members of the 'Holy Alliance' (*Vide Bk. IV. Ch. I*). In the 'Crimean War' which broke out in 1854, Palmerston took up the cause of Turkey against Russian aggression (*Vide Bk. IV Ch. V*). During the Italian War of Liberation, though he abstained from all active interference, he nobly lent his moral support by insisting that the Central Italian states should be permitted to decide their own destinies, and as the result of it they were annexed to Piedmont (1860).

Palmerston's foreign policy.

Foreign relations of Palmerston.

When the 'Austro-Prussian War' broke out in 1866, England maintained an attitude of strict neutrality, and after the battle of Sadowa **Disraeli** struck the key-note of his *imperialistic* policy asserting thereby the position of England as a world-power. **Gladstone**, being opposed to him, was always anxious to escape entanglement with foreign problems and refused interference in the 'Franco-

Disraeli and Gladstone —their foreign relations.

German War' of 1870 which roused keen excitement in England; he even avoided a struggle with the United States of America by giving compensation in the famous *'Alabama'* case (1871). In 1875 **Disraeli** effected a sensational stroke of policy by purchasing the Suez Canal shares which helped to establish English protectorate over Egypt as well as an effective control over the direct route to India. When the Russo-Turkish war broke out in 1877, **Gladstone** in a series of speeches and pamphlets summoned the British nation to support a policy of delivering the oppressed Christians from the Sultan's control and of expelling the Turks "bag and baggage" from Europe; but Disraeli, the then Prime Minister of England, assumed a firm attitude to preserve the *integrity* of the Ottoman Empire and by checking Russian aggression on Turkey protected British interests in the East (*Vide Bk. IV. Ch. V.*). The Treaty of Berlin which concluded the war (1878) was a diplomatic triumph for England; but when the Eastern Question was re-opened in 1896, Salisbury at first declined to interfere, though ultimately at his instance the Turks had to surrender Crete under pressure from the European powers.

Disraeli and the Eastern Question.

CHAPTER V.

Russia and the Eastern Question.

Russia since the French Revolution:

Alexander I, (1801-25).

Czar Alexander I had at first been a friend of Napoleon and then his enemy. In 1807, as has been noticed, he was defeated by Napoleon and forced to accept the Treaty of Tilsit (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. III.*). Since then he became a friend and ally of Napoleon and even joined the 'Continental system' devised by the French Emperor. But his withdrawal from the system led to a fresh rupture with Napoleon who led the fatal Moscow expedition in 1812, and since then the Czar called upon the nations of Europe to depose Napoleon and restore the peace of the world. The historic congress which met at Vienna (1815), gave birth to the doctrine of *'Legitimacy'*, and under its influence, the 'Holy Alliance' was formed between Czar Alexander, Emperor Francis of Austria, and Frederick William of Prussia (*Vide Bk. IV. Ch. I.*). It is said that Alexander coming under the influence of the religious mystic Madame de Krüdener devised the idea of the 'Holy Alliance'.

His part in the French Revolution.

His earlier liberal reforms.

He had been at first a zealous advocate of liberal ideas, had granted Poland a liberal constitution, emancipated the serfs in Livonia and Courland, and introduced other beneficient reforms in Russia. But the organisation of the 'Holy Alliance' brought about a complete change in his policy. He became a violent absolutist and helped to crush all popular

Change in his ideas since the 'Holy Alliance'.

movements for political freedom in Spain, Italy and Germany. The Russian liberals became keenly disappointed and the earlier hopes given by the Czar to grant his subjects some share in the government was never fulfilled. Metternich thus remarked of him: "His disposition was noble and his word was sacred.....but his mind and heart needed to be led and guided.....He deceived himself, and the discovery of his errors brought him to the grave."

Nicholas I, (1825-55).

His brother and successor, Czar Nicholas I, followed the later policy of his predecessor. A "terrible incarnation of autocracy" as he was, he tried to check the progress of all the liberalising influences in Russia from Western Europe. In 1828, taking advantage of the embrassing situation of the Sultan as a consequence of the 'War of Greek Independence', he declared war against Turkey, and marching across the Balkans forced him to sign the *Peace of Adrianople* in 1829 (*Vide Bk. IV. Ch. I*).

Russo-Turkish War, 1828-29.

Next year, 'when the Polish subjects of the Czar revolted and drove out the Russian garrison from Warsaw, he quickly suppressed the rising with a strong hand and converted Poland completely into a province of Russia. (*Vide Bk. IV. Ch. I*). The Czar also helped Austria in her fight with Hungary under the leadership of Kossuth (1848), and Hungary was made a second Poland (*Vide Bk. IV. Ch. I*)

Suppression of the Polish revolt, 1830.

Change in the Eastern Policy after the Peace of Adrianople:

Since the *'Peace of Adrianople,'* Russia came to be regarded as a great military power and the arbiter of the 'Balance of Power' in the Balkan Peninsula. But such a power of Russia and her predominant position in the Bal-

kans, came to be considered as dangerous to the independence of the lesser states of Europe. So the European powers changed their policy as regards Turkey. They shook off their old crusading spirit and resolved *to maintain her integrity* at any cost, so as to make her the strongest bulwark against Russian aggrandisement in the Balkans and consequent Russian expansion towards the Mediterranean (a road to India, Africa, and the Far East).

Alarming increase of Russian power in the Balkans, and the attitude of the European Powers.

Egypt and Turkey :

Mehemet Ali, the Sultan's viceroy of Egypt, had made himself practically independent, though during the Greek War of Independence, he had helped the Sultan (*Vide Bk. IV. Ch. I.*). He now tried to make himself master of Syria by driving away the Sultan's viceroy from Acre. The Porte appealed to Europe for help.

Attempt of Mehemet Ali to acquire Syria.

Russia took this as an opportunity for her expansion in the south, and came to help the Sultan. England and France at once joined Egypt and compelled the Sultan to cede Syria to Mehemet Ali to be held as a fief. But Czar Nicholas I, managed to extort at *Unkiar Skelessi* an agreement from the Sultan to the effect that none but Russian vessels should pass through the Dardanelles during times of war.

Move of the leading European Powers.

Mehemet Ali now attemped to throw off the Sultan's dynasty. Sultan Abdul Mejid appealed to the powers, and Russia, Prussia, Austria and England joined Turkey, while France joined Egypt hoping to establish a protectorate there. During the war which followed, the English fleet bombarded *Beyrout* and *Acre,* and the allied army defeated Egyptian troops in Syria. Mehemt Ali was compelled to sign the *Treaty of London* (1840) by which he was deprived of

Renewed attempt of Mehemet Ali to overthrow the Sultan failed.

Treaty of London; 1840.

Syria and his power remained confined solely within Egypt. By a convention of 1841, the powers gave Turkey the sole control over the Dardanelles, and prohibited the passage of all foreign vessels through it during times of war.

The Straits Convention, 1841.

The Crimean War, (1854-56):

In 1852, Napoleon III of France, as the champion of the Latin Christians, obtained from the Sultan the custody of the Holy Places in Jerusalem. Czar Nicholas I of Russia, as the champion of the Greek Church, resented this. But though this quarrel came to an end when the Sultan gave the Greek Christians the first hours of the day for worshipping before the Holy Tomb, Russia wanted to be the Protector of all Greek Christians in Turkey. As the Czar's demand was actuated by sinister motives, as could be seen from his impertinent proposal to Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British ambassador, to partition out Turkey—'the Sick Man', the Sultan rejected the proposal. This led to the Crimean War.

Origin of the war.

In this war England and France sided with Turkey against Russia. Russia was defeated at the great battles of *Alma*, *Balaclava*, and *Inkerman* (1854). Nicholas I died with a broken heart (1855). After the memorable siege and fall of *Sebastopol* (1855), the new Czar, Alexander II, signed the *Treaty of Paris* (1856). By it the integrity of the Ottoman empire was guaranteed on condition that the Sultan should introduce reforms beneficial to his Christian subjects ; the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were made self-governing (these two states were united in 1859 to form the kingdom of Roumania under Turkey) ; the Black Sea was declared to be neutral ; the navigation on the

Defeats of the Russians.

Treaty of Paris, 1856.

Danube was made free ; and Russia lost her protectorate over the Danubian principalities.

Thus the aggrandising policy of Russia in the Balkans, and her hope of expansion towards the south received a rude shock. Effects of the war on Russia.

Unrest in the Balkans, and the Russo-Turkish War (1877-78) :

When in 1870, Russia repudiated one of the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris, the Sultan neglected to carry out his promised reforms for his Christian subjects. So there took place continual unrest in the Balkan states subject to the suzerainty of the Sultan. In 1875 the people of Herzegovina revolted ; and in 1876 their example was followed by the Bulgarians, while Servia and Montenegro declared war on the Turks. Atrocities were committed on both sides. Risings in the Balkan Peninsula.

When at last Czar Alexander II invaded the Turkish dominions in Europe and in Asia as the champion of the oppressed Christians (1877), the English nation subscribed to the policy of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman empire as advocated by **Disraeli** (now Lord Beaconsfield) out of admiration for the splendid heroism displayed by the Turks on the field of battle against overwhelming Russian forces, specially in connection with the defence of *Plevna*, the Turkish stronghold in the north of the Balkans. With the fall of Plevna, the Russians advanced upon Constantinople, and forced the Sultan to sign the *Treaty of San Stefano* (1878) whereby Servia, Montenegro and Roumania became independent of Turkey and Bulgaria became a self-governing state tributary to the Sultan. The treaty thus marked the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. Outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War, 1877. Treaty of San Stefano.

The Treaty of Berlin, 1878:

England found herself unable to approve the 'Treaty of San Stefano' fearing Russian expansion southward towards the Mediterranean and believing that Bulgaria and other states would be mere tools of Russia. A war became imminent between England and Russia, but it was averted when Russia agreed to England's proposal of referring the treaty to a European congress. In the congress, which met at Berlin (1878), under the presidency of **Bismarck**, the powers agreed to the following terms: (1) Roumania, Servia and Montenegro were to be independent of Turkey; (2) Bosnia and Herzegovina, though still belonging to Turkey to be placed under Austrian administration; (3) Russia to get some places in America, and Bessarabia on the lower Danube which she had lost in the Crimean war; and (4) two states were created, *viz.*, Bulgaria and Roumelia, under the suzerainty of the Sultan. England by a separate treaty with Turkey obtained the control of Cyprus.

The Eastern Question as settled at the Congress of Berlin, 1878.

Thus, though Turkey was shorn of half of her European possessions, the *Treaty of Berlin was a great diplomatic triumph for England* as no better terms could be secured for Turkey and the increasing Russian influence in the Balkans was checked; and when Lord Beaconsfield returned to England from Berlin, he boasted that he had brought back 'peace with honour'

Effects of the treaty.

But the treaty, though diminshed the possessions of the Sultan, did not bring peace to the Balkan peninsula. While it adopted the policy of strengthening the small states of the Balkan peninsula so that they might serve as effective barriers between Russia and Turkey, it failed

Nature of the treaty.

to satisfy the ambitions of the various peoples living there who became jealous of each other and thus once again threatened the peace of Europe. The principle of nationality was overlooked in dividing Bulgaria into two parts, and in 1885 Roumelia became united with her. Russia also looked at the settlement with disfavour. Thus "the Treaty of Berlin was a compromise, and like all compromises, pregnant with future troubles."

The Eastern Question still left open.

Liberal Movements in Russia :

Czar Alexander II, who ascended the throne during the 'Crimean War', gave up the narrow reactionary policy of his predecessor, and wishing to introduce the civilised ideas of Western Europe laboured for popular reforms. He reformed the administration of justice, conferred some amount of local self-government to the districts, abolished flogging in the army and sought for the education of the clergy. But his name will be ever remembered by the posterity for his great *Edict of Emancipation of the Serfs*. By his two decrees of 1858 and 1861 a large number of the *serfs* or semi-slaves residing on the crown lands as also on the lands of the nobles in Russia were granted freedom and made free proprietors of lands in return for some fixed labour or rent.

Alexander II, (1855-81).

His liberal reforms.

Emancipation of the Serfs.

All these popular measures of the Czar raised high expectations in the minds of the educated classes, who now began to demand a constitutional form of government. When the Czar turned a deaf ear to their demands, the more radical elements gradually drifted into *'Nihilism'*. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1878-79, the movement had assumed a violent phase ; assassination came to be considered as

Outbreak of *'Nihilism'* in Russia.

a righteous means of political reform, and many public officers were murdered as the "hell brood of despotism". Two years later, Czar Alexander himself fell a victim in the hands of the Nihilists.

Alexander III, (1881-94).

Alexander III, son of the murdered Czar, was a through believer in absolutism, adopted a strongly repressive and persecuting policy, muzzled the press (1884), hunted down the Nihilists, and banned the writings of such authors as Huxley, Spencer, Lyell Adam Smith, etc. Even the religious dissidents, Protestants, Jews, and Catholics were harshly treated. But he began the industrial and economic development of the country. Nicholas II, who succeeded Alexander, pursued an equal policy of absolutism and repression at home, and abrogated the constitutional govenrmnet enjoyed by the Finns; but prompted by noble sentiments and genuine humanitarian feelings called upon the governments of Europe having representatives in his court to meet in a conference "to consider means of ensuring the general peace of the world and of putting a limit to the progressive increase of armaments which weigh upon all nations." Accordingly in 1899 the first '*Hague Conference*' was summoned in the Netherlands and a permanent International Court of Arbitration was set up for the settlement of mutual inter-state disputes. A second conference was also summoned later (1907) at the Hague, and it did some useful work; but these noble attempts of the Czar have since proved a failure as is evidenced from the '*Great War*'.

Nicholas II, (1894-1917).

The International convention at the Hague, 1899

The humiliations which Russia suffered however in course of the *Russo-Japanese War*

(*Vide poste pp. 376-77*), discredited the autocratic system of government at home. The incompetence and corruption of the Russian officials gave rise to serious mutinies in army and navy. Petrograd and other cities witnessed violent revolutionary risings and there was a large demand for constitutional government. So Czar Nicholas II was forced to summon the first representative assembly—the *'Duma'*—in 1906, based on a wide franchise with control over taxation and a vote on legislation. But extreme opinion prevailing in the *Duma,* the electoral system was altered to make it fairly loyal and obedient ; at the same time to suppress revolutionary ideas, extreme methods of execution and exile to Siberia were largely resorted to. The people remained as discontented as ever. [For the later history of the reign, *Vide Bk. V. Ch. II*].

Effects of the Russo-Japanese war on the government.

Creation of the 'Duma'.

The Expansion of Russia :

Having failed in her attempt to secure a free outlet to the sea at the expense of Turkey, Russia had during the last quarter of the nineteenth century devoted her serious attention to Asia as a field for expansion which made her the greatest rival of England there. Her gradual expansion in eastern and central Asia extended the Russian boundaries to the Chinese wall on the east and to the Himalayas—the northern limits of British India—towards the south. Hence at the close of the nineteenth century, England attempted to secure the co-operation of Germany by an agreement to check Russian designs, but failed.

Russian advance towards Asia.

The policy of Russian expansion in Asia, however, received a check in the hands of the rising power of Japan in the Far East. The

weakness of China—'the Sick man of the Farther East'—was revealed in her war with Japan (1894-95), and her undeveloped resources roused the avidity of the European powers who began the 'Scramble for China'. Proclaiming to maintain the integrity of China and thereby "the peace of the Far East", Russia, France and Germany had forced Japan to restore Port Arthur to China after the Chino-Japanese War. But in 1897 when two German missionaries were murdered in the province of Shantung, Germany demanded redress of China and secured a ninety-nine years' lease of the harbour of Kiau-chau establishing thereby a German "sphere of influence" in China. This encouraged Russia to acquire from China a lease for twenty-five years of Port Arthur which is the strongest position in Eastern Asia (1898). France and England also each secured a port on similar terms of lease. The European powers also forced China to open a dozen new ports to the trade of the world and to grant them extensive rights to establish factories, construct railways, and open mines. This policy of exploitation led to the rising of an anti-foreign party, known as the '*Boxers*',' who killed the missionaries and their families and besieged the foreign Legations in Pekin (1900); but the movement was suppressed by an international army of the powers and the Chinese Government was forced to pay a large indemnity.

The Scramble for China.

The Boxer rising, and its suppression.

The acquisition of Port Arthur by Russia made Japan apprehensive of her designs in the East. With the Boxer rising, Russia began to mass troops in Manchuria, strengthened the harbour of Port Arthur and stationed a fleet there. The Japanese saw in it the ambitions

The Russo-Japanese War, 1904.

of Russia to annex Manchuria and Korea, and entered into a defensive alliance with England to assist each other in case the enemy of either would be joined by another power (1902). Its causes. Russia had definitely promised to withdraw from Manchuria as soon as order would be restored after the *Boxer* disturbances, but her military preparations still went on in full swing there. So Japan now demanded of her the date at which she intended to withdraw the troops, order having apparently been restored (1903). Russia began to gain time by diplomatic negotiations and evasive replies, and so Japan commenced hostilities (1904). In the *Russo-Japanese War* which thus broke out, the Russians, sustained humiliating reverses both on land and sea. At last, by the *Treaty of Portsmouth* (1905), Russia had to recognise Japan's paramount interests in Korea, to withdraw her troops from Manchuria and to transfer the lease of Port Arthur to Japan. Its results. Japan thus stood forth as the dominant power in the Farther East and the scheme of Russian expansion thither received a check.

BOOK V.

THE ERA OF IMPERIALISM.

CHAPTER I.

Europe before the Great War.

Political Affinities of the European Powers :

The Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy.

Since the 'Treaty of Berlin' a coolness had sprung up between Russia and Germany, as the Czar felt that his schemes in the Balkans had been foiled by Bismarck. Accordingly to protect German interests, Bismarck entered into a close defensive alliance with Austria which was the inevitable rival of Russia for power and influence in the Balkans (1879). Italy soon after joined this alliance, converting it into the *Triple Alliance* (1883), as she saw with alarm the occupation of Tunis on the Mediterranean coast by the French. Though Italy had every reason to hate Austria, her hereditary enemy, the members of the 'Triple Alliance' declared that their one aim was to maintain the peace of Europe and they renewed the alliance, from time to time till the beginning of the '*Great War*'. France on the other hand, helpless since the 'Franco-Prussian War' and torn of Alsace and Lorraine by the 'Treaty of Frankfort' (*Vide Bk. IV. Ch. III.*), did not believe the pacific intentions of the 'Triple Alliance' and looked at it with grave concern. Taking advantage of

the coolness between Russia and Germany, she cautiously sought the friendship of the former and succeeded in entering into the '*Dual Alliance*' with Czar Nicholas II (1894). This alliance henceforth served as a counter-weight to the 'Triple Alliance'. These two great defensive alliances for maintaining the *status quo* on the continent determined the international relations of the Europe till the outbreak of the '*Great War*' in 1914.

The Dual Alliance between France and Russia.

Significance of the two Alliances.

The political combination of the Powers as represented in Europe by the 'Triple' and 'Dual' Alliances left England practically isolated. This position of isolation however was against her interests, specially in view of her commercial rivalry with Germany expressing itself at the close of the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century "in a struggle for markets, in colonial competitions, and in a striking development of naval power". So, England felt it necessary to enter into friendly understandings with some of the powers, and sought to settle the long-continued misunderstandings with France and Russia. In 1904, Great Britain entered into an *entente cordiale* with France, and in 1907 it was joined by Russia, thus developing into the '*Triple Entente*' of Britain, France, and Russia. This 'Entente' however was not an Alliance, but a mere diplomatic group that was expected to work in substantial harmony in regard to certain measures and problems. There was no understanding of any kind whatsoever between Great Britain and France or Russia to lend support in times of war, and when the '*Great War*' broke out in 1914 Great Britain was free to act according to her interests.

Effects of the Triple and Dual Alliances upon England.

Origin of the Triple Entente.

Character of the Triple Entente.

Disruption of the Ottoman Empire :

We have noticed that "the Treaty of Berlin was a compromise, and like all compromises, pregnant with future troubles." The Eastern Question, which was still an open one, "entered upon a new and startling phase" early in the twentieth century. In July 1908, the *'Young Turks'*, a revolutionary, constitutional party, weaving a conspiracy in silence and drawing into it the Turkish army, effected a swift, sweeping and bloodless revolution in Turkey, and forced Sultan Abdul Hamid II to grant a constitution. The event roused great enthusiasm among multitudes within and without the Sultan's empire, and the prospect of a reformed Turkey animated with new national spirit made the European powers watchful and attentive. The 'Young Turks' however did not go further and make any attempt as expected to recover complete control of the Balkan possessions already torn from her.

Revolution in Turkey effected by the *Young Turks*.

Taking advantage of this weakness of the new government of Turkey, Austro-Hungary definitely annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, the two provinces which she was authorised under the Treaty of Berlan to "occupy' and administer only, and Bulgaria proclaimed her complete independence from Turkish suzerainty (Oct., 1908). Thus the Treaty of Berlin was openly flouted, and these violent breaches of the treaty produced nothing but ineffective protests from England, France, and Russia. But while Germany and Italy lent their support to the action of Austria, Servia became highly indignant as her hopes of uniting the people of the Servian race residing also in Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austrian banner was frustrated

Open violation of the treaty by Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria.

and her expansion to the sea was prevented. The feeling of anger and indignation harboured by the Servians against Austro-Hungary augured ill for the future.

In April 1909, however, the troops in Constantinople broke into mutiny, denounced the 'Young Turks' and demanded abolition of the new constitution. But this counter-revolution was suppressed by the armies of the 'Young Turks' from Salonica, and Sultan Abdul Hamid II, who was supposed to be its organiser and inspirer, was deposed and taken as prisoner. The new Sultan, Mohammed V, fell in with the policy of the 'Young Turks' who were again in power. From the very beginning however the 'Young Turks' followed a policy of 'Turkification' and began to oppress the subject races of the Empire. They intended to subordinate the various races living within the Empire to their own race and to suppress by force all religious privileges enjoyed by them. Their gross misrule in Macedonia and the senseless policy of persecution in Albania produced wide-spread disaffection. Taking advantage of the popular feelings against Turkey, Italy seized Tripoli and forced Turkey to reliquish it (1912). The dismemberment of the Turkish Empire began in rapid strides, and a serious blow came from the Balkan states.

Counter-revolution in Turkey suppressed by the Young Turks.

The reactionary policy of the Young Turks.

Italy seizes Tripoli.

The Balkan Wars, (1912-13):

The cruel persecution of the Christians of Macedonia by the government of the 'Young Turks' led to the formation of a secret "Balkan League" between Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Servia as many of the sufferers were their own countrymen. These members of the

Formation of the Balkan League.

The Balkan League declares war.

Balkan League,' in spite of differences among them, were now united in their desire to liberate their brothers in Macedonia from the hated Turkish rule. In Oct., 1912, they declared war against Turkey. The Greeks pushed into Macedonia, gained several victories and entered into Salonica. The Servians defeated the Turks at *Kumanovo*, and captured Monastir. The Bulgarians won a brilliant victory at *Lulé Burgas* and advanced up to the Chataldja line of fortifications. In course of six weeks the collapse of the Turkish power was nearly complete, and the Turkish possessions in Europe shrank to Constantinople and the twenty-five miles west to the Chataldja fortifications. At this point attempts were made by the Great Powers to make peace, but Bulgaria demanded of the Turks the surrender of Adrianople and so the war continued. With the fall of Adrianople and Scutari (March-April, 1913), the Turks were compelled to accept peace. By the *Treaty of London* (May, 1913), Turkey was allowed to retain Constantinople with just enough territory round about to protect it, and out of the territory now relinquished by the Turks a new independent state of Albania was created. England abandoned her former policy of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and adopted a new policy as pronounced by Sir Edward Grey that 'no one would be disposed to dispute the right of the Balkan states to formulate, when they pleased, the terms upon which they would be disposed to conclude peace.'

The Treaty of London, 1913.

English policy in the Balkans

The Treaty of London however did not last long, and a new and fearful struggle broke out again in the Balkans. The creation of the new

state of Albania on the Adriatic coast prevented Servia from having access to the Adriatic sea, which was against the interests of Austria. Servia therefore sought for compensation in territories in Macedonia, which was opposed by the Bulgarians who wanted to annex them. The old animosity of these two countries for each other flamed up again, and Bulgaria suddenly and treacherously attacked both Servia and Greece. This action of Bulgaria roused the other Balkan states against her. Roumania and Montenegro declared war, and the Turks, finding a chance to recover some of the territories recently lost, joined the allies. The Bulgarians were beaten again and again and begged for terms. By the *Treaty of Bucharest* (1913), Servia and Greece, with enlarged borders, became important powers; Turkey recovered a large area including Adrianople; Roumania got additions to her boundaries on the side of Bulgaria which paid the penalty for her arrogance by considerable loss of territories. The treaty however did not give Servia the desired outlet to the sea, nor did Bosnia and Herzegovina where millions of Servian race still lived under Austrian rule came to her. *The Balkan Wars were thus the prelude to the 'Great War' of 1914.*

Fresh war in the Balkans:

Bulgaria attacks Servia and Greece.

Treaty of Bucharist 1913.

Significance of the Balkan Wars.

CHAPTER II.

The Great War.

Origin of the War :

Real cause of the war.

Austria determined to prevent the expansion of Servia.

The Balkan settlement as effected by the 'Treaty of Bucharest' at the close of the Balkan Wars in 1913 did not satisfy Austria and Germany. Austria considered Servia as her chief enemy, and her annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 in distinct violation of the previous 'Treaty of Berlin' and her active part in the creation of the artificial state of Albania (*Vide Bk. V. Ch. I.*) were all meant to prevent Servia from getting an access to the Adriatic, because an independent Servia with her territory enlarged and prestige heightened might attract to herself the millions of Servs living under Austrian rule. Moreover Austria believed that Servia would be the pawn of Russia, a great Slavonic power deeply interested in the fate of the Slav states in the Balkans, which would extend Russian influence on her southern borders and along the Adriatic. So there was plenty of bad blood between Austria and Servia ; and, even on the day before the 'Treaty of Bucharest' was formally signed Austria had designed to attack Servia, but was prevented by her ally Italy. Germany was also far from pleased at the outcome of events in the Balkans as she considered that the collapse of Turkey was a blow to herself, and began to extraordinarily increase her army and armaments in order to be prepared for the war. Thus.

Germany considered the disruption of Turkey against her interests.

Austria and Germany willed that the war should come and took unscrupulous advantage of situation in the Balkans to bring it about.

In 1914 there took place an incident which served as an excuse for Austria to declare war. Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the nephew of the Emperor of Austria and heir to the Austrian throne, was with his wife assassinated on June 28 in the streets of Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia. This infamous deed was perpetrated by some natives of Bosnia who were Austrian subjects but Servians by race. The event roused intense indignation in the minds of the Austrians who declared the Servians as a "nation of assassins," and the Austrian government suspecting the complicity of Servia in this dastardly affair demanded of her redress in a despatch of violent character and required the acceptance of it in its entirety within forty-eight hours. The despatch, dictatorial in its demands and imposing humiliating conditions, was in itself an ultimatum as it allowed no time for investigation of the charges or discussion of the demands. Efforts were made by England, France and Russia to induce Austria to extend the time-limit, but in vain. They then turned to Servia urging her, in the interests of Europe in general, to give a reply as conciliatory as possible; and Servia accordingly yielded in her reply to the greater part of Austria's demands and offered, in case Austria was not satisfied, to refer the question to the Hague Tribunal or to a conference of the Great Powers. Austria however immediately rejected the Servian reply and began to mobilize her troops. On July 28th Austria began the war upon Servia.

Immediate causes of the war:

Murder of the Archduke of Austria at Serajevo.

Responsibility of Servia in the affair, and the Austrian ultimatum.

Refusal of Austria to extend the time limit as urged by the Powers.

Austrian declaration of war upon Servia.

The rejection of Servia's reply to the ulti-

Austrian ultimatum—a deliberate challenge to Russia.

matum by Austria necessarily drew Russia, the protector of the Slavonic interests in the Balkans, into the conflict. She showed herself ready to defend Servia. Germany at once declared her determination to support Austria, as she so long asserted that the question at issue concerned Austria and Servia only and that no outside Power had the right to intervene. A further proposal by England to adjust the difficulties between Austria, Servia and Russia at a Conference in London by the Great Powers not directly concerned, *viz.*, Germany, France, England and Italy, was also declined by Germany, her object being to precipitate a general European war, owing to the obligations of the 'Triple' and 'Dual' Alliances, which "might enable her to make a bid for the domination of the world." On July 31, Germany sent an ultimatum to Russia to demobilize her army within twelve hours, and Russia not replying to it Germany declared war against her on Aug. 1. Germany's action meant war with France as well, as France could not refuse to abide by her alliance (the 'Dual Alliance') with Russia. Italy however declared that she was not bound to support her allies of the 'Triple Alliance' in a war which was aggressive on their side, and remained neutral for some time.

Austria supported by Germany.

England's proposal for an international conference declined by Germany.

Germany declares war upon Russia.

France drawn into the conflict. Italy at first neutral.

The Combatant States and their Interests:

Much more than three-quarters of the land surface of the earth was engaged in the war, and the number of the combatant states were too many. These states may be conveniently classified into two groups, *viz.*, the 'Central Powers' and the 'Allies'.

Two groups of the combatant states.

To begin with, the 'Central Powers' included

Austria-Hungary and Germany, the former of whom hoped, no doubt, to extend farther eastwards her control of the Balkan states while the latter fought for colonial expansion, "her *Pan-German* theory," a world-wide Teuton Empire on which German culture might be impressed." Turkey whose continued existence as a European power had long been trembling in the balance, threw in her lot with them (Nov. 1914) as the last chance of recovery of her position. Bulgaria joined the same side (Oct., 1915) actuated by her long-standing ambition to recover the Macedonian provinces, and her entry "linked the Central powers with Turkey, completing the 'corridor' to the East, to Asia". These four states found no further combatants on their side till the end of the war.

The Central Powers and their objects.

But on the side of the 'Allies' there were adhesions until near the end. Servia and Belgium fought for their bare existence. Russia came to protect her interests in the Balkans as well as to safeguard her Polish territory from Germany and, when Turkey entered the lists, to realise her dream of the mastery of the Bosphorus and access to the open sea. France joined with the hope of revenge for the loss of Alsace and Lorraine (*Vide Bk. IV. Ch. IV*). England did not fight to gain anything, but to save Belgium from German militarism and to portect her own sovereignty over the seas on which the safety of herself and her colonies depended. Montenegro joined out of her racial sympathy with the Servians, and Japan out of her loyalty to her alliance with Great Britain and her desire to secure the "peace of the Far East" (Aug., 1914). Italy remained neutral for a long time, but out of widespread popular

The Allies and their respective interests.

demand to recover her *"Italia Irredenta"*, "Unredeemed Italy",—the districts of Trentino on the north, and Trieste and Istria on the north-east which went to Austria since 1815—she joined the allies in May, 1915. Roumania coveted Transylvania inhabited by a people of half-Latin race and speech and declared war on Austria (Aug., 1916), but she collapsed speedily. Greece, though wavered for some time, joined the Allies and Portugal also came to their side.

Why England entered the War?

The only state that was free to act for herself was England. She was not controlled by any entangling alliance like the 'Triple' and 'Dual' Alliances which rested on definite treaties, though her relations with France and Russia as established by the 'Triple Entente' did not bind her by understanding of any kind with regard to any European policy or contingency. As a European power and as a great imperial colonial state, she however tried her best to avert the war though she failed. But when France became involved in the war, she found that it was certainly not for her interest that that country should be conquered by Germany. Her participation in the war was however rendered inevitable in order to protect the neutrality of Belgium which had been guaranteed even by Germany herself in 1839. Germany demanded of Belgium to allow the German armies to cross her territory in order "to advance into France by the quickest and easiest way", and treated the law of nations as mere "scraps of paper." German Chancellor, Benthman-Hollweg, declared "necessity knows no law". England, being vitally interested in the independence of Belgium and because of her explicit treaty obligations with her, declared

To save Belgium from violation by Germany.

war against Germany on August 4, 1914. Mr. Asquith, Prime Minister of Great Britain, proclaimed: "We shall not sheathe the sword which we have not lightly drawn until Belgium recovers in full measure all and more than all that she has sacrificed, until France is adequately secured against the menace of aggression, until the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation, and until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed."

War aims of Great Britain, stated by Asquith.

Thus between July 23 and Aug. 4, 1914, seven nations of Europe, five great *viz.*, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Germany, France, and England, two small *viz.*, Servia and Belgium had passed from a state of peace to one of war. Other states were gradually drawn into the conflict. And at the end of the war the only European states that remained neutral were: Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland and Spain. Even the most distant parts of the world including the colonies of Great Britain and France in Africa and Asia became involved in the contest. Loyal India gave her cordial support to the allied cause from the first year of the war. The last stage of the war saw the United States and South America drawn into the whirlpool on the side of the Allies (April, 1917) The object of United States for entering the war, as stated by President **Wilson** was "to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world, as against selfish and autocratic power" and "to make the world safe for democracy."

All Europe, save five states, including the British and French colonies in Africa and Asia as well as India involved in the war.

Why America joined the Allies?

Progress of the War :

The Western Front :

On Aug 3, 1914, the German army under von Kluck crossed the Belgian frontier, resolved

German army enters Belgium.

to get to Paris by the shortest route. *Liege* held out for a few days, but was forced to surrender by acts of cruelty and violence. Namur next stood on the way of the invaders, and here the British and the French army came to assist the Belgians. But *Namur* fell with disappointing rapidity, the French were heavily defeated at *Charleroi*, and the English army escaped with difficulty from an encircling movement by a rapid retreat from *Mons*. City after city in northern France now fell before the invaders who reached within twelve miles of Paris. The fall of the city being apprehended, the seat of the French government was removed to Bourdeaux. It seemed to be the darkest hour for the allies, but suddenly came a decisive reversal of fortune. Through the organising capacity of the French commander, General Joffre, the German army exposed to a flank attack in the battle of *the Marne*, was forced to retreat (Sept., 1914). *It was one of the decisive battles of the world, and it saved France, nay all Europe.* But the Germans, crossing the river *Aisne*, picked up a strong position on its north bank and began the warfare from the 'trenches'. Soon on both sides numerous 'trenches' were dug stretching from the sea to the Alps, and the armies carried on their war operations for the next four years from those 'positions'.

English retreat from Mons.

First battle of the Marne, 1914.

Conquest of Belgium by Germans.

The Germans were, now in possession of a large area in north-eastern France and of nearly all of Belgium. From the moment they stepped upon Belgian territory, they committed all sorts of atrocities. Their troops carried on conscienceless but systematic pillages, sacked the cathedrals and public buildings, destroyed the

historic cities, their works of art and monuments, burnt down the ancient Library and the famous University of Louvain, exacted barbarous war-taxes and plundered the last penny and the last horse of the peasant, bombarded the undefended towns and hospitals, fired the villages, poisoned the wells, and above all ruthlessly murdered great numbers of civilians, men, women and little children, in cold blood or subjected them to treatments worse than death: *'German Fury'* indeed! King George V of England spoke of it as "shameless holocaust lit up by blind barbarian vengeance". German atrocities in Belgium.

Meanwhile another aspect of the war was being played upon the high seas. The British won a naval victory near *Heligoland* in the North Sea and subsequently crushed a German fleet off the *Falkland Islands*. These events shattered the German hopes of harrying the commerce of the allies, and bottled up the main German fleet in the Kiel Canal, Individual German cruisers, like the *'Emden'*, went out however from time to time to do damage to the allied shipping, but the submarine danger was not yet serious. The German fleet however did not make its greatest effort till May, 1916, when it sailed out of the Kiel Canal and came into an engagement with the advance guard of the British fleet under Admiral Beatty off *Jutland*. With the appearance of the main British fleet under Admiral Jellicoe, the Germans fled with all speed. Thus the battle confirmed the British command of the North Sea, and henceforth the Germans relied entirely on their submarines. Naval warfare, and British control over the seas.

The Allies however were making repeated attempts since 1915 to break through the German line on the Western

Front. At the battle of *Neuve Chapelle* (March, 1915), the English army under Sir John French could gain very little, though the casualties on both sides were heavier than in the battle of Waterloo. In April 1915, the Germans commenced their second attack on *Ypres*, their first attack there being repulsed in Oct., 1914. Now they used the poison gas for the first time, and the British line had to be withdrawn and shortened. The British forces under Sir Douglas Haig however took the offensive here from July to November, 1917, and as the result of the third battle of Ypres they were able to gain ground as far as the Paschendele ridge though at a terrible cost.

The battles of Ypres.

Another great centre of attack was at Arras where took place the great Franco-British offensive on the banks of the *Somme* (July, 1916). Here the English under General Haig and the French under Marshal **Foch** met the Germans under **von Hindenburg** who had arrived from the Eastern front achieving great successes there. After a long fighting the German line was pushed back to considerable distance, and the powerful armoured motor cars or the "tanks" introduced by the British played havocs on the German army. The battle had the effect of relieving the pressure on the French at Verdun, another important centre of operations.

Battle of the Somme.

There was also much fighting round *Reims* which was held with a strong grip by the French, though the city was cruelly shelled and its great cathedral, a master-piece of Gothic architecture, was deplorably damaged.

Reims damaged.

The Germans however made their most determined effort under their Crown Prince at

Verdun which commanded one of the chief routes to Paris. Several 'battles' took place here between February 1916 and September 1917. It appeared sometimes that the place must fall, but the heroism of the French saved the situations. Though the French line had to be drawn in from time to time by a series of remarkable assaults, the French were able to recover the positions they had lost.

Verdun held and saved.

The general result of the fightings till the earlier part of the year 1917 being on the whole unfavourable to the Germans, they reatreated with 'strategic' skill to the "*Hindenburg line*" which embarassed the operations of the Allies. The submarine policy as proclaimed by the Germans and the sinking of the largest trans-Atlantic British liner, the '*Lusitania,*' with more than hundred American subjects on the board, had already roused the indignation of the Americans, and when the Germans embarked on a submarine campaign against vessels, whether naval or commercial of all states enemy and neutral alike, the government of the United States of America declared war upon them (April, 1917) and assisted the Allies by sending troops on the western front.

German retreat to the Hindenburg line.

America enters the the war, 1917.

The Eastern Front :

The Russians, mobilizing their forces rapidly in the East, invaded Eastern Prussia about the middle of August in 1914 and captured some small towns. The Germans however withdrawing part of their troops from the Western Front opposed the Russians. Their army under von Hindenburg disastrously defeated a Russian army at *Tannenburg* (Aug., 1914). The Russians however were more successful against Austria, as they entering into the

Russian attack upon East Prussia.

Their early defeat.

Their success in Austria.

Austrian province of Galicia captured *Lemberg* and *Jaroslav* and began the siege of *Przemysl* which surrendered in March 1915. It was hoped that the Russians would force the passage of the Carpathians and invade Hungary; but a few months later, the Austrian forces, reorganised by the Germans, not only compelled the Russians to withdraw from all their conquests in Galicia, but also entered the Russian soil. Meanwhile, the Germans prepared for a heavy assault, and their armies under the command of von Mackensen and von Hindenburg began to converge on *Warsaw* which soon fell into their hands. The Russian armies under the Grand Duke Nicholas effected an orderly retreat, and before the approach of winter Poland, Lithuania, and Courland fell into the hands of the Germans. With ranks refilled and reorganised, the Russians under Brusiloff once again began a great offensive against the Austrians in Volhynia and the Bukovina. The campaign lasted from June to October, 1916; the Bukovina was conquered and large numbers were made prisoners. Roumania also joined the allies (Aug. 1916), and a great victory seemed assured with her invasion of Transylvania. But two large Austro-German armies under the command of Falkenhayn and Mackensen drove back the Roumanian forces, occupied *Bucharest* and conquered Roumania.

German conquest of Poland.

Brusiloff's Great offensive.

German conquest of Romania.

Meanwhile no great progress could be made by the Russian general Brusiloff and his activities gradually wore down and stopped. Already Lord Kitchener, the organiser of the British armies, while on his road to Russia for directing the operations on the east, had been

drowned (June, 1916), and the autocratic government of the Czar became discredited at home on account of the stoppage of Brusiloff's campaign. The leading members of the *'Duma'* demanded a responsible ministry and radical changes in the government. An acute food crisis developed, the workingmen went on strike in Petrograd and Moscow, and the soldiers refused to open fire on the mob when ordered to do so. Czar Nicholas II dissolved the *'Duma'*, but it refused to be dissolved. The *'Duma'* now effected a *coup d'état*, and the Czar was asked to abdicate which he did (March, 1917). *Thus ended the reign of Czar Nicholas II, the last of the Romanoffs*, who was now taken away to an obscure and terrible fate in Siberia. The task of creating a new government in Russia became extremely difficult, as the extreme Socialists became active, and began to organise *'Soviets'* or councils of workingmen and soldiers. The Petrograd Council or *'Soviet'* began to oppose the provisional government set up by the 'Duma'. Russia relapsed into anarchy, and "the breakdown of discipline in the army continued to increase portentously". The provisional government was at last overthrown by the *'Bolsheviki'* of Petrograd under the leadership of Lenine and Trotzky who "repudiated the idea of an equal democracy and declared for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariate or the poorest classes to the entire exclusion from power of all others". (Nov., 1917). The war had no meaning with the new government, as "Germany was not more disliked as a state and government than France, England or America." The *'Bolsheviki'* immediately started peace negotiations

The Russian revolution.

Abdication of Czar Nicholas II, 1917.

Rise of the *Soviets*.

The *Bolsheviki* seize power and enter into treaty with the Austro-Germans.

with the Germans, and they signed the ignominious *Treaty of Brest-Litovsk* (March, 1918) whereby Russia had to cede large territories and to pay large money indemnities. "Germany had thus thrown down the whole barrier that shut her in upon the East"

The Balkan Front :

Attack upon Servia failed.

The two expeditions that were sent out by Austria against the Servians in the year 1914 were driven out with immense loss. When Turkey entered into the war on behalf of the Central Powers, the Allies sought to force the passage of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus in order to secure a connection with Russia through the Black Sea. An allied Anglo-French army, reinforced by colonial troops from Australia and Newzealand called "Anzacs", landed in Gallipoli in April, 1915, but was opposed by the Turks under the command of a German general all through the year till it was withdrawn (Dec., 1915). Before that however the Austrians under the guidance of Mackensen sent a third expedition against Servia, took *Monastir*, and almost reduced the little kingdom. Bulgaria, which had entered the war on behalf of the Central Powers in the meantime, also attacked Servia from the south. An allied force was landed at *Salonika* in Greece, in order to help the Servians, but was unsuccessful. The Bulgarians committed horrible atrocities on the civil population of Servia, and Servia was completely crushed. The Austro-Germans followed up their conquest by over-running Montenegro (Jan., 1916). The same year Roumania entered the war on behalf of the allies, but two Austro-German armies under Falkenhayn and Mackensen conquered the southern part of the kingdom

The Gallipoli Campaign

Servia crushed.

Montenegro overrun

and entered *Bucharest* (Dec., 1916). An internal revolution took place in Bulgaria in 1917; and when the Allied forces on the Salonica front attacked the German and Bulgarian armies with vehemence, Bulgaria was forced to surrender unconditionally (Sept., 1918).

Conquest of Romania.

Fall of Bulgaria, 1918.

The Italian Front:

A notable event during the second year of the war was the entry of Italy into it on the side of the Allies. As a member of the '*Triple Alliance*' when she had been asked by her allies *viz.*, Austria and Germany, to cooperate with them, she declined on the ground that she was obliged to aid them only if they were attacked and not in a case when they had begun the war. So Italy remained neutral till the widespread demand of her people for supporting the just cause of the Allies led her to formally declare hostilities against Austria, Germany, Turkey and Bulgaria (May, 1915). Italian troops attacked the Austrians both in *the Trentino* and on the eastern frontier towards *Trieste*. Fighting went on at great height, and there were fluctuations of victory and defeat though the advantage lay with the Italians. During 1916, the Austrians however pressed the Italians hard through the Trentino, but were driven back. Shortly after, the Italians gained a great victory by the capture of *Gorizia* which brought them to within thirteen miles of coveted Trieste. In the summer of 1917 they carried on a very successful offensive and occupied a part of the Bainsizza plateau. But with the collapse of Russia, the Germans were able to send large bodies of troops to assist Austria, and the Austro-German army defeated the Italians at *Caporetto*, took large numbers of prisoners and

Italy enters the war, 1915.

Italian victories.

Italian defeat.

Restoration of the Italian line.

poured down into the plain above Venetia. There the invasion was halted and with the arrival of the French and English troops in aid of Italy the Italian line was restored.

The Turkish Front :

War declared against Turkey, a tool of Germany.

Turkey being a military autocracy became the willing and eager tool of Germany, and after the outbreak of the war permitted two German cruisers, he *Goeben* and *Breslau*, to ener the Bosphorus and then to sail into the Black Sea and bombard the Russian ports. Russia therefore declared war against her and England and France also did the same (Nov. 1914). For Germany, the Turkish lands opened a road for attacking the British power in Egypt and India, and a railway was planned and largely constructed from Constantinople to the Persian Gulf.

Birtish protectorate over Egypt. failed.

An immediate consequence of the declaration of war was the dethronement of the Khedive of Egypt who was plotting with the Sultan against the British, and the establishment of a British 'protectorate' there with the uncle of the deposed Khedive as the 'Sultan' of Egypt. A Turkish attack on Egypt in 1915 failed.

The war in Mesopotamia and Palestine.

An expedition was sent to Mesopotamia by the British government in India in the first year of the war, which took *Basra*, a town on the head of the Persian Gulf. Early in 1915, the Indian troops under General Townsend gained brilliant victories and approached *Bagdad*, but towards the end of the year they had to retreat

Townsend's surrender at Kut.

to *Kut-el-Amra* where they were blockaded by the Turks. In April, 1916, General Townsend was forced to surrender there. General Maude with a larger army however marched up the Tigris (Jan., 1917),

Fall of Bagdad.

and achieved several victories. Kut was retaken and even *Bagdad* fell.

Towards the close of the year, another British army under General Allenby advanced into Palestine to safeguard England's control over the Suez Canal and Egypt, and it took *Beersheba* and entered *Jerusalem* in triumph. The power of Turkey was thus clearly broken in those regions.

Capture of Jerusalem.

The Great German Offensive and its Failure :

With the conclusion of the 'Treaty of Brest-Litovsk' between Russia and Germany, vast German armies were released from the Eastern Front for use in the West. Germany now put forth all her strength to capture Paris and to force her way to Calais before America could land her troops in France to assist the Allies. The first blow from the Germans fell near *St. Quentin* (March, 1918) where the British Fifth Army suffered heavily. Shortly the Germans were within a few miles of *Amiens*, and *Ypres* again became the centre of a long and desperate fight. At this critical moment the Allies, to achieve unity of command which was so long lacking, appointed the veteran French General, Marshal **Foch**, as the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied armies on the Western Front. Ypres held firm, but *Bailleul* fell. The German army, having however suffered heavy losses, required reorganisation, and Ludendorff succeeded Hindenburg in high command. Ludendorff launched a new attack upon the French army in the neighbourhood of *Rheims*. Though Rheims held out as stoutly as Ypres, the Germans advanced rapidly far down towards *the Marne* and arrived within forty miles of Paris which came to be bombarded with long-range canons—"the

The German drive of 1918.

German successes.

Marshal Foch as the Commender-in-chief of the Allied armies.

Paris bombarded by the Germans.

'big Berthas''—for a considerable period. Nearly all the Allied gains achieved on the banks of the Somme were lost.

American troops arrive.

Large numbers of American troops however landed in France at the nick of time, and Marshal **Foch** now struck a blow which freed Paris from danger. He began the offensive attacking the enemy on the flank from the Marne to the river Aisne (July, 1918). The German line began to give way till it was forced to withdraw the troops which had crossed *the Marne*. The second battle of the Marne being thus over, the Allied troops began to strike again and again at their enemies till they were compelled to retire on the famous 'Hindenburg Line'. Here the most decisive battle of the war was fought, and the Germans were driven back to their own territory (Sept.-Oct., 1918).

Second Battle of the Marne : July, 1918.

Battle of the Hindenburg Line, and failure of the Germans.

Meanwhile, momentous events were occuring in the other theatres of war. The Allied forces on the Salonica Front attacked the Bulgarians with such vehemence that they were forced to surrender unconditionally and to sign an armistice (Sept., 1918). Italy also assumed the offensive against the Austrians and fully repaired her disaster of 'Caporetto' : the Austrians were compelled to withdraw towards their own country (June-Oct., 1918). Turkey also, being defeated successivley by the British and Indian troops under General Allenby in Palestine and Mesopotamia and being cut off from Germany for the surrender of Bulgaria, agreed to an armistice on terms that amounted to unconditional surrender (Oct., 1918). Austria also followed her example immediately after, having received a crushing defeat in the hands of Italy (Nov., 1918).

Progress of the Allies, and surrender of the enemies.

Germany, thus deserted by all her partners in the war, made a frantic effort for peace appealing to President **Wilson** of the United States of America to bring about a peace conference. The Allies communicated through Marshal **Foch** the terms on which armistice could be granted. Meanwhile revolutions had begun in Austria-Hungary and Germany. The Czecho-Slovaks and Hungarians declared their independence and prepared to be republics. Vienna fell into the hands of the Socialists, and it was rumoured that Emperor Karl had abdicated and fled. Kaiser William II of Germany also abdicated and fled for refuge to Holland (Nov. 9, 1918), and his son, the Crown Prince Frederick William renounced his rights to the throne. *The last of the Hohenzollerns thus made his sorry exit from the throne of Germany*, having plunged the world into turmoils and tribulations which mankind would not forget for decades to come. A republican government was set up in Germany with Ebért, a Socialist, as Chancellor, and the new government accepted the terms of armistice including the humiliating condition of immediate surrender of the German fleet (Nov. 11, 1918). The war was thus over, and the important task of making the peace remained.

Germany seeks peace.

Revolution in Germany, and abdication of Kaiser William II.

The Armistice, Nov., 1918.

Making of the Peace :

The first session of the Peace Conference was held at Paris on January 18, 1919 to settle the number of the representatives that each state should have at the conference, and it was decided that there should be about seventy members out of which the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan were to have five delegates apiece and the British Dominions and India were also to be represented by two

The Peace Conference at Paris.

The leading members of the conference.

delegates each. Four personalities dominated the peace negotiations: The American President **Woodrow Wilson**, the Italian Minister Orlando, and the English and French Prime Ministers, **Lloyd George** and **Clemenceau**, the last of whom was chosen to preside over the conference. No representative of the Central Powers was admitted to the conference, but the decisions of the allied representatives were communicated first to the German representatives and then to those of the other enemy powers.

President Wilson's *'Fourteen Points'*, the basis of the coming peace.

President Wilson had already laid down his famous *"Fourteen points"* as the basis of a peace that might be accepted by the allies, including the establishment of a 'League of Nations' in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security in the future. After discussion of these principles, the following settlement was arrived at, and the *Treaty of Versailles* was signed on June 28, 1919:

(1) A 'League of Nations' was to be established with its seat at Geneva, and any state, dominion or colony might be admitted into the League with the consent of two-thirds of the Assembly of the League. The members are pledged to submit matters of dispute to arbitration, and a permanent court of International Justice was to be established.

(2) The boundary between France and Germany was to be as in July, 1870. The coal-mines in the Soar Basin were to be ceded to France in full sovereignty. Alsace and Lorraine were to be ceded to France free of all responsibilities for German debt and payment for German buildings, &c. Germany was to cede Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium. Lux-

emburg ceased to be a member of the German Zollverein. The whole of the west bank of the Rhine was to remain temporarily in the hands of the Allies as security for the fulfilment of the provisions of the treaty, while on the east bank Germany should not maintain any fortifications or armed forces within fifty kilometres of the river. On the east, Germany was to cede Posen to Poland, and Dantzig was to be a free city.

(3) Outside Europe, Germany renounced all rights, titles, and privileges alike in territory formerly her own and in the territory of the Allied Powers to those Powers collectively and undertook to accept the arrangements they might devise. In China, she was to forfeit all interest in the Boxer indemnities and her port concessions. In Morocco she forfeited all privileges, and in West Africa she was to indemnify France for the wrongs done before the war.

(4) Germany's army was limited to one lac, and her navy to a small fleet of eighteen vessels of different types. Submarines were not to be maintained and Air Force was not to be kept by her after October, 1919.

(5) Germany was compelled to accept the responsibility for causing all the loss and damages ; but as her resources were considered by the Allies as inadequate to make complete reparation, she was to pay compensation to civilians under seven heads, to pay at once Belgium's war-debts from the Allies, and within two years to pay to the Allies one thousand million pounds sterling in either gold, goods, ships or other specific forms of payment. Further, an Inter-Allied Reparation commission

was to inform Germany of her total obligation to pay

(6) Poland was to be restored as an independent state Czecho-Slovakia consisting of former Bohemia and Moravia and Jugo-Slavia comprising Servia and Montenegro as well as Austro-Hungarian territories where the Slavonic populations resided came to be recognised as independent states Syria came under French influence, while Mesopotamia and Palestine under British [But the fate of Constantinople remained unsettled, which left the way open for future troubles ending in the recent *Treaty of Lausanne'* (1923)]

Importance of the Treaty of Versailles

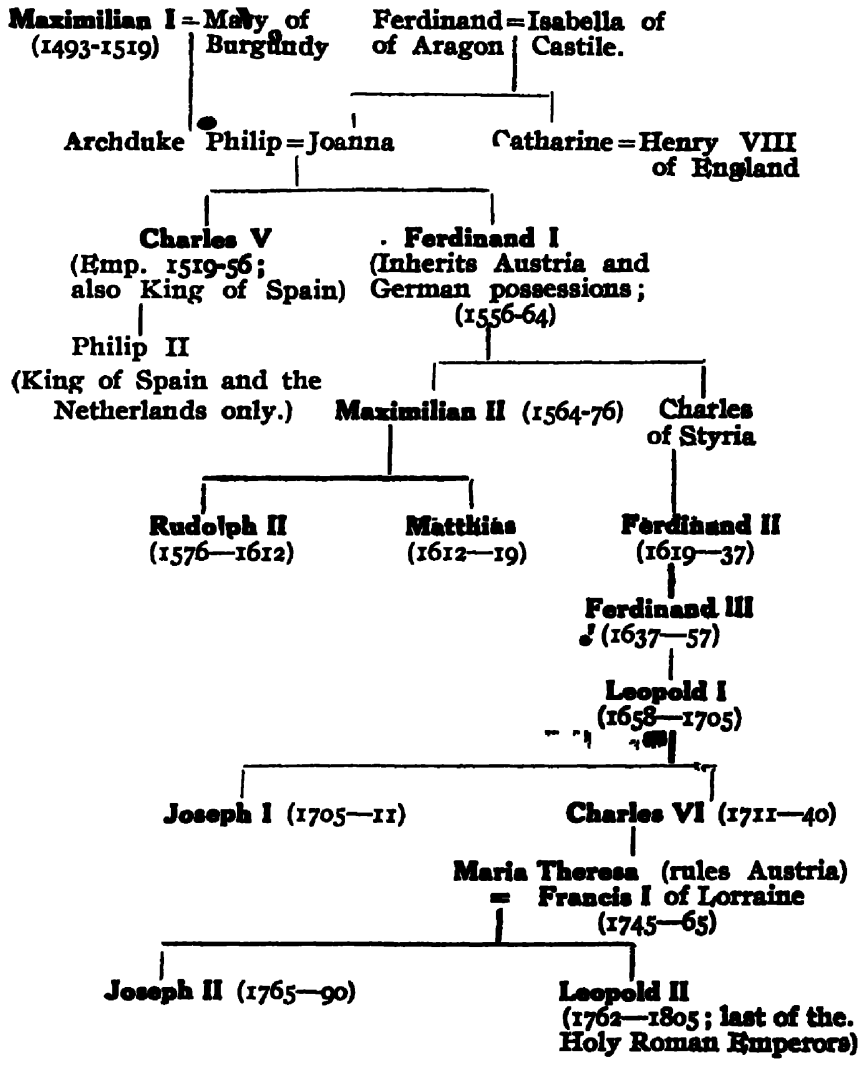
The 'Treaty of Versailles' therefore with its preceding solemn covenant of the 'League of Nations' roused passionate hopes in public mind for the future peace of Europe, nay of the world, and England played her part well in shaping the treaty so as to secure the cause of 'Freedom' in and outside Europe———for,

"Who Lives If Freedom Falls?
"Who Dies If England Lives?"

—KIPLING

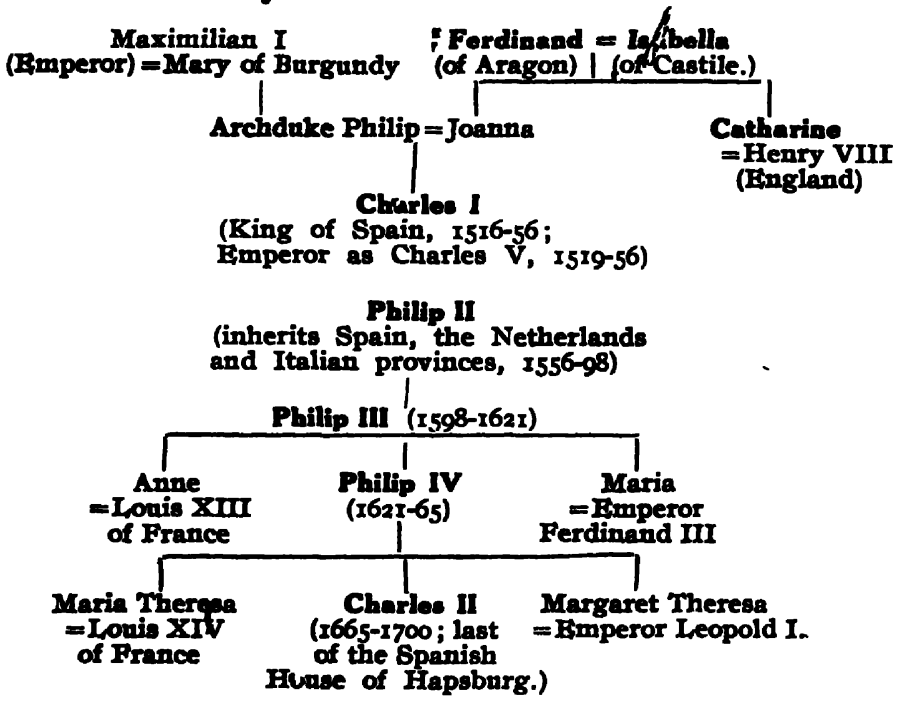
1. The Empire.

The Houses of Hapsburg and Hapsburg-Lorraine.



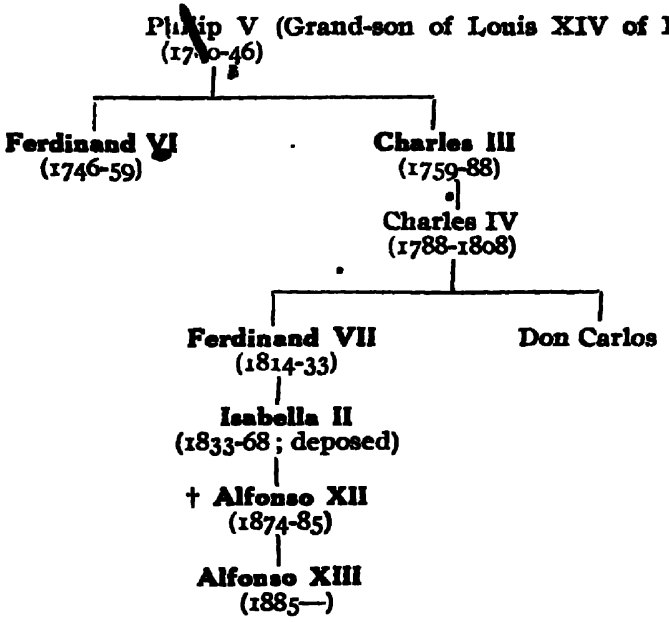
II. Spain.

I. The House of Hapsburg (Spanish Branch.



11. Spain.—(Contd.)

2. The House of Bourbon (Spanish Branch.)

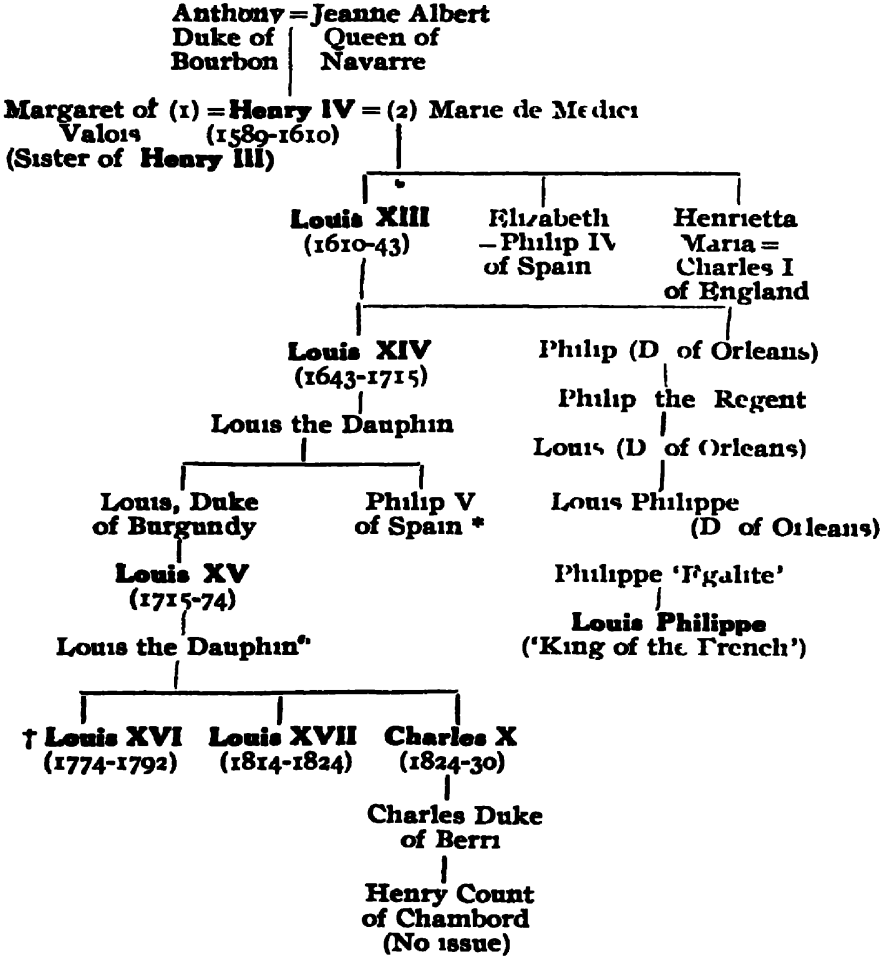


* For the French House of Bourbons, see the next Table.

† From 1668-74 a rapid succession of revolutionary governments took place.

III. France.

The House of Bourbon and Bourbon-Orleans.



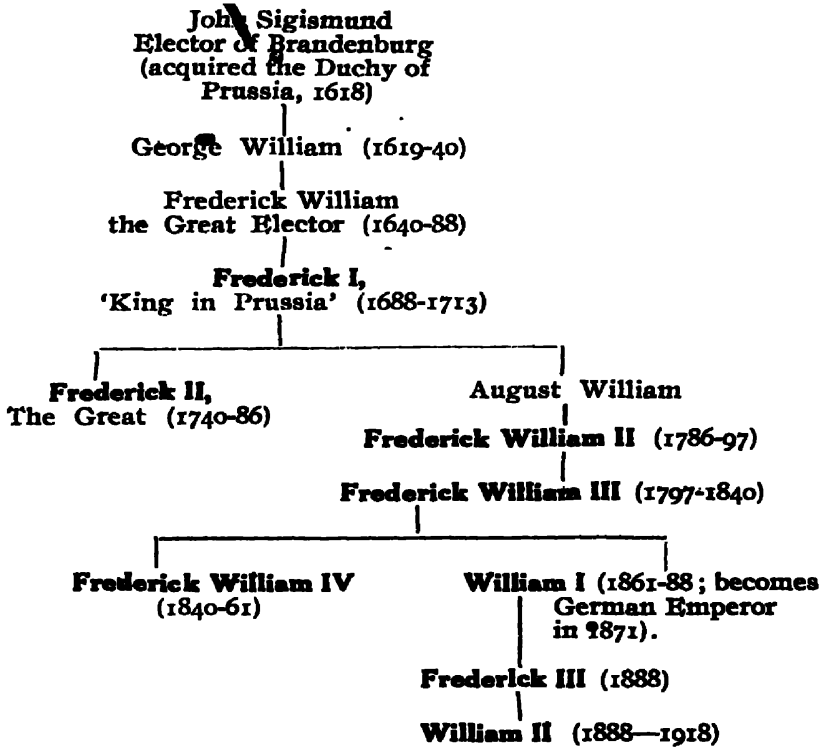
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* For the Spanish Bourbons, see the previous Table

† From 1792-1814, the French Revolution and the ascendency of Napoleon took place.

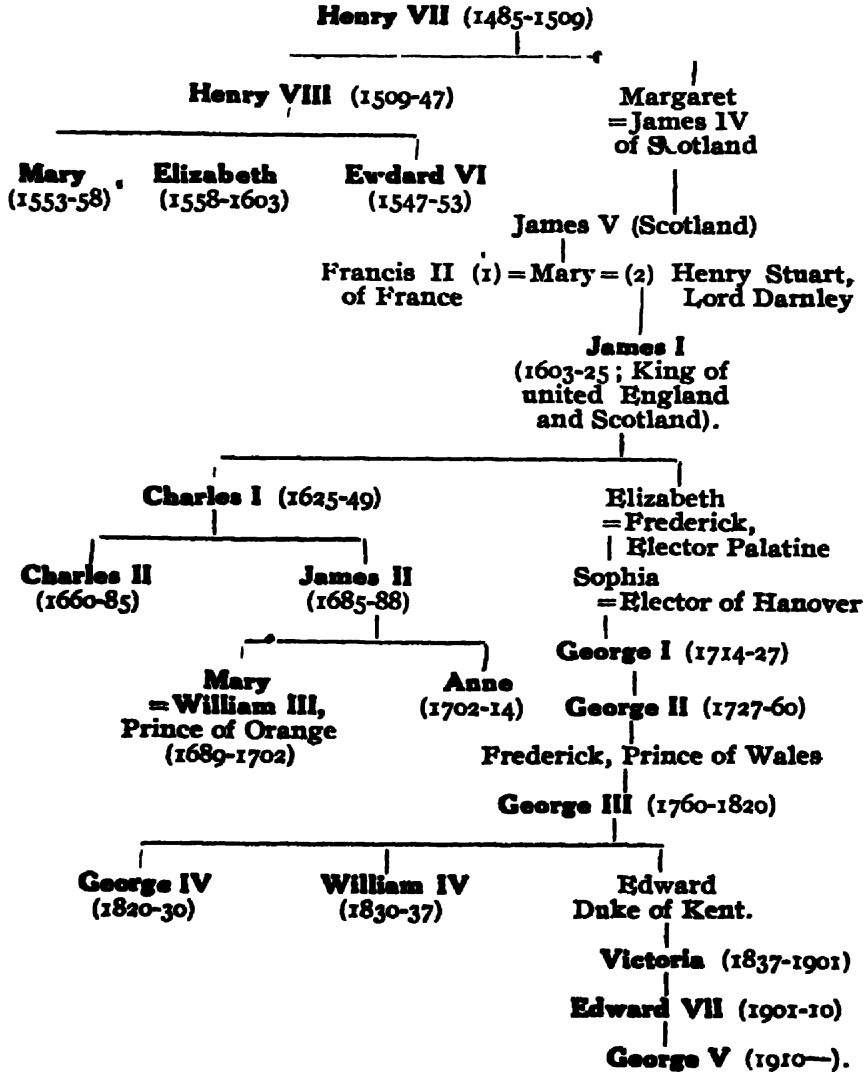
IV. Prussia and Germany.

The House of Hohenzollern.



V. England.

The Houses of Tudor, Stuart and Hanover.



QUESTIONS FOR EXERCISES.

Introduction.

1. Why is the capture of Constantinople by the Turks regarded as opening a new era in history? Can you suggest any other dates from which Modern Europe may be said to have begun? [C. U. 1916, Hon.]

2. Give a summary of the results of the fall of Constantinople. [C. U. 1910, 1912, Pass.]

3. Distinguish the Modern from the Mediæval History of Europe in regard to her political and social conditions. [C. U. 1917, Pass.]

4. Explain the notable features that mark the transition from the middle ages to the modern. [C. U. 1920, Pass.]

5. Give some account of the influence of the great geographical discoveries upon the European nations [C. U. 1911, Hon.]

6. Give some account of the geographical discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries. [C. U. 1923, Pass.]

7. Estimate the results of the discovery of America by Columbus. [C. U. 1921, Pass.]

Book I.

8. Give some account of the government and policy of Venice towards the close of the 15th Century, and account for the decay and fall of the Republic. [C. U. 1916, Hon.]

9. How was the Republic of Venice in the Sixteenth Century affected by the advance of the Turks in Eastern Europe? What were the causes of her decay and fall? [C. U. 1919, Pass.]

10. Sketch the attempt of Cæsar Borgia to unify Italy. [C. U. 1916, Pass.]

11. Give a short history of Florence under the Medici with special reference to their domestic and foreign policy. [C. U. 1918, Pass.]

12. What were the impediments to German political unity in the latter half of the 15th century and how far they were removed by (*a*) the Swabian league and (*b*) the reforms of Emperor Maximilian?

13. Give some account of the reign of Emperor Maximilian. [C. U. 1911, Pass.]

14. What do you understand by Burgundy? Briefly sketch the struggle between Charles the Bold of Burgundy and Louis XI of France. In what respects does the reign of Louis mark an epoch in the history of French monarchy? [C. U. 1911, 1913, 1917, Pass.]

15. Explain the importance of the family alliances of Ferdinand the Catholic in promoting the unity of Spain and its development as a European power. [C. U. 1918, Pass.]

16. 'The unification of Spain inaugurated a period of territorial expansion which is unparalleled in history.' Expand. [C. U. 1922, Pass.]

17. Give some account of the policy of Henry VII of England, and compare him with Louis XI of France. [C. U. 1910, Hon.]

18. Give some account (with a sketch-map) of Italy at the time of Charles VII's invasion. [C. U. 1910, Pass.]

19. Sketch the history of the French in Italy during the reigns of Charles VIII, Louis XII and Francis I. [C. U. 1911, 1915, Pass.]

20. 'The direct and indirect consequences of the protracted combat between Charles V of Spain and Francis I were many and far-reaching.' Elucidate. [C. U. 1921, Pass.]

21. Account for the expulsion of Francis I from Italy. [C. U. 1914, Pass.]

22. Sketch the character of Francis I, and show how it affected the history of France. [C. U. 1918, Hon.]

23. Give some account of the history of the Spaniards in Italy from 1504 onwards. [C. U. 1912, Hon.]

24. What were the causes of the Reformation? What were its results? [C. U. 1922, Pass.]

25. Explain the connexion between the Reformation and the Renaissance. [C. U. 1921, 1923, Pass.]

26. 'The humanists helped to prepare the minds of

the people for the Reformation, but they did not make it.' Discuss. [C. U. 1923, Pass.]

27. What events led to Luther's breaking with the Roman church? Sketch his character and career. [C. U. 1916, Pass.]

28. 'Few persons will deny Martin Luther a first place among the great men of the 16th century.' Discuss. [C. U. 1922, Pass.]

29. What was the Confession of Augsburg? Show how the Reform movement in Germany assumed a political character in the League of Schmalkalde?

30. What was the Schmalkaldic War? Attempt an estimate of the character and work of Maurice of Saxony. [C. U. 1909, Hon.; 1917, Pass.]

31. Briefly narrate the character of teachings of Ulrich Zwingle and indicate his points of difference from Luther.

25. Indicate the political tendencies of Calvin's system of teaching as contrasted with those of Luther. [C. U. 1916, Hon.]

32. Say how "the Scandinavian Reformation was essentially a political movement."

33. Give a summary of the history of the House of Vasa in Scandinavia till the death of Gustavus Adolphus. [C. U. 1915, Pass.]

34. Attempt an estimate of the character and work of Gustavus Adolphus. [C. U. 1916, Hon.]

35. Mark the different steps that led to the separation of the English church from the church of Rome, and mention the part played by Wolsey in effecting it.

36. Give the ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth and the measures adopted by her for the settlement of the Anglican Church.

37. Sketch in outline the struggle between England and Spain in the days of Elizabeth. [C. U. 1910, Pass.]

38. Narrate the part played by John Knox in the religious history of Scotland.

39. What do you know about the Reform movements in—(*a*) Poland, (*b*) Italy (*c*) Spain and Portugal, and (*d*) the Netherlands?

40. What do you mean by the Counter-Reformation?

By what methods was it carried out? What was the extent of its success? [C. U. 1919, Pass; 1911, Hon.]

41. 'Caraffa (Paul IV) undertook to save the Church through the Papacy.' Indicate the methods inaugurated by him for this purpose. [C. U. 1916, Pass.]

42. In what capacity did Charles V rule his various dominions, and with what difficulties had he to contend in each part of the same? [C. U. 1914, Pass.]

43. In what way did the character of Charles V influence the history of Spain and Germany? [C. U. 1915, Pass.]

44. Sketch the career of Phillip II of Spain. [C. U. 1915, Pass.]

45. State clearly the circumstances that led to the revolt of the Netherlands. [C. U. 1920, Pass.]

46. How far was the revolt of the Netherlands due to causes other than religious? Give an estimate of the services of William the Silent (Prince of Orange) in the cause of Dutch independence. [C. U. 1916, Hon.; 1917, 1919, Pass.]

47. 'Charles V was like the Tudors; Philip II, like the Stuarts.' Explain this, and illustrate it especially from the history of the Netherlands during the two reigns. [C. U. 1918, Hon.]

48. 'Francis I was the originator of the traditionary French policy afterwards so successfully followed by Richelieu, of being Protestant abroad and Catholic at home'. Explain and illustrate this statement. [C. U. 1909, Hon.]

49. To what extent did the policy and example of Francis I affect the subsequent history of the French monarchy? [C. U. 1916, Hon.]

50. Who were the Guises? Give some account of them in the 16th century. [C. U. 1911, Pass; 1909, Hon.]

51. Trace briefly the history of the (Catholic) League in France. Describe the character of the statesmanship of Henry IV of France. [C. U. 1916 Pass.]

52. Describe the circumstances which led to the accession of Henry of Navarre to the French throne. Discuss the merits of the economic and financial reforms of the Duke of Sully. [C. U. 1918, Pass.]

53. What difficulties other than religious, confronted Henry IV in 1598? Write a sketch of the reign of Henry IV of France. [C. U. 1913, 1914, Pass.]

54. What were the causes of the Thirty Years' War? Trace the parts played in it by (1) Gaustavus Adolphus, (2) Wallenstein and (3) Mansfeld respectively. Describe the aims of the persons who played the chief parts in the Thirty Years' War. [C. U. 1910, 1911, 1912, Pass; 1918, Hon.]

55. What were the main provisions of the Peace which concluded he Thirty Years' War? What were the results of the war (*a*) on Germany and (*b*) on Europe? Explain the importance of the Peace of Westphalia. [C. U. 1909, 1911, 1916, 1921, Pass and Hon.]

56. 'The Peace of Westphalia is the turning-point in the destinies of civilization'. Expand. [C. U. 1923, Pass], or 'The Peace of Westphalia is a prominent landmark not only in German but in universal history'. Amplify. [C. U. 1922, Pass.]

57. Describe the map of Europe in 1648. [C. U. 1909, 1913, Pass.] (*For answer refer to Q. 55.*)

58. "The Ottoman Empire attained the zenith of its greatness under Solyman the Magnificent"; give a sketch of the history of his reign. [C. U. 1909, Hon.]

BOOK II.

59. Give an account of the causes of the struggle between King and Parliament in England during the Stuart period. [C. U. 1923, Pass].

60. Write an account of the main issue between the King and the Parliament in the days of Charles I of England [C. U. 1911 Pass.]

61. What were the main outlines of the European politics at the death of Charles I of England? How did his execution affect matters? [C. U. 1912 Hon.]

62. 'Oliver Cromwell is one of those surprising characters who sum up in themselves a whole period of their nation's hstory.' Examine.

63. Give an estimate of the services rendered to monarchy in France by (*a*) Henry IV, (*b*) Richeliu, (*c*) Mazarin. [C. U. 1922, Pass].

64. 'Richelieu is sometimes called the creator of absolute monarchy in France.' Discuss. [C. U. 1921, Pass].

65. Write a short history of the Fronde. [C. U. 1910 Hon.] ; indicate the part played by the Parliament of Paris in it.

66. Write a sketch of the life and policy of Mazarin. [C. U. 1911 Hon.]

67. By what measures did the *Great Cardinals* consolidate and strengthen the French monarchy? Give a brief estimate of the financial reforms of Colbert. [C. U. 1917, Pass.]

68. Sketch the character of Louis XIV. [C. U. 1916, Pass.]

69. 'Under Louis XIV France was absorbed in the court, and the court in the King'. Explain [C. U. 1922, Pass.]

70. Sketch the foreign policy of Louis XIV up to the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle (1668). [C. U. 1912 Pass.]

71. Describe the parts played by England and Holland in resisting the establishment of Louis XIV'S supremacy over Europe. How far was the 'balance of power' secured by the Treaty of Utrecht? [C. U. 1919, Pass.]

72. Sketch the history of the War of the Spanish Succession. [C. U. 1915 Pass.]

73. Give a general sketch of the political divisions of Europe as settled by the Treaty of Utrecht. [C. U. 1919 Pass.]

74. What were the main causes of the English Revolution of 1688? Estimate its effects on the European situation. [C. U. 1909 1912 Hon., 1913 and 1921 Pass.].

75. Give some account of the rise of Russia up to the death of Peter the Great. What do you know of the foreign and domestic policy of Peter the Great. [C. U. 1913, Pass ; 1909, Hon.]

76. Give an estimate of the character and the statesmanship of Peter the Great Russia. [C. U. 1923, Pass.]

77. Compare the aims and careers of Peter the Great and Charles XII of Sweden. [C. U. 1914, Pass.]

78. State the policy of Peter the Great and describe

his conflict with Charles XII of Sweden [C. U. 1920, Pass.]

79. Estimate the work of Peter the Great, illustrating your answer from the history of his reign. How far may Peter the Great be regarded as the 'Creator of Modern Russia'? [C. U. 1916, 1918, Pass.]

80. 'Peter the Great was a barbarian of genius—never anything more.' Explain. [C. U. 1921, Pass.]

81. Give a sketch of the history of Russia from the accession of Peter the Great to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). [C. U. 1912 Pass.]

82. Give a short account of the Northern kingdoms of Europe at the accession of Charles X of Sweden. Give some account of his reign. [C. U. 1911 Hon; 1912, Pass.]

83. Write a life of Charles XII of Sweden. Compare Charles XII and Peter the Great as generals and statesmen [C. U. 1909, 1918 Pass.]

84. Form a comparative estimate of the services rendered to Russia by Peter the Great and Catharine the Great. [C. U. 1916, Hon.]

85. 'The second siege of Vienna (1683) is a memorable event in the history of Europe'. Explain why it is so. [C. U. 1912, Hon.]

86. Give some account of the constitution and the political divisions of the Empire at the accession of Charles VI. [C. U. 1910, Hon.]

87. Give an account of the Austrian foreign policy from 1720 to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. [C. U. 1918 Hon.]

88. Give a sketch of the career and policy of Kaunitz. [C. U. 1910, Hon., 1920, Pass].

89. What do you know of the reforms of Emperor Joseph II? How far were they successful? Make an estimate of his foreign policy. Explain the causes of his failure. [C. U. 1909, Hon., 1914 and 1916 Pass.]

90. Write a brief account of the rise of Prussia up to the accession of Frederick the Great. [C. U. 1909, 1911, 1915 Pass.]

91. Outline the policy, domestic and foreign, of the Great Elector. [C. U. 1914, Pass.]

92. 'Frederick William I was the greatest internal king of Prussia'. Amplify. [C. U. 1923, Pass.]

93. Write a short account of Frederick the Great; what did he do for Prussia? [C. U. 1923 Pass.]

94. Briefly describe the parts played by (*a*) the Great Elector, and (*b*) Frederick the Great in the organization of the German empire. [C. U. 1917, Pass.]

95. Give a sketch of the character of Frederick the Great. Estimate his abilities as a general and a ruler [C. U. 1912 Pass.]

96. What is your estimate of Frederick the Great as an enlightened despot? [C. U. 1921, Pass.]

97. "The great result of the reign of Frederick the Great was that he created the dualism between Austria and Prussia." Expand. [C. U. 1922, Pass.]

98. Sketch the character of Frederick the Great, and write a short history of his reign from the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. [C. U. 1914, Hon.].

99. Give some account of the War of the Austrian Succession. What were its effects on Austria, France and Prussia?

100. Account for the great change in the international relations in Europe at the commencement of the Seven Years' War. Explain the importance of the convention of Westminster in connection with the war. To what extent was the war influenced by commercial interests and colonial ambitions? [C. U. 1919, Pass.]

101. Give the causes of the Seven Years' War and discuss its results. [C. U. 1920, Pass].

102. Show the importance of the Seven Years' War, and give the main particulars of the peace which ended it [C. U. 1911, Pass.]

103. What do you know of the state of Poland before the 'partitions'? What led to the 'partitions of Poland? What were their effects? [C. U. 1910, 1912, 1913, 1922 Pass.]

104. Sketch the history of Poland from the beginning of the 18th century to the final partition. [C. U. 1913 Pass.]

105. What led to the First Partition of Poland? How far was it due to internal anarchy, how far to the

ambition of foreign powers? Estimate how far each of the partitioning powers was responsible for the events? [C. U. 1918 and 1914, Pass.]

106. How the first Partition of Poland did affect the relative position of Russia and Prussia? [C. U. 1916, Hon.]

107. What is the importance of he English Revolution of 1688 in the history of Europe? [C. U. 1921 Pass.]

108. Distinguish between the 'Whigs' and the 'Tories'. Give some account of the foreign and domestic policy of the Whigs in the 18th century. Sketch the foreign policy of Walpole. [C. U. 1909, 1911, Pass.]

109. What led to the American Revolution in the last quarter of the 18th century? Point out its effects on the European politics.

110. Write brief notes on Alberoni. What were the plans of Albenoni? Give some account of the European situation at the time of his fall. [C. U. 1910. Pass, 1911, Hon.]

111. Give some account of the social condition of France under the Regency [C. U. 1912 Hon.]

112. What do you know of the governments of Fleury and Choiseul in France? Write short notes on Pombal [C. U. 1910 and 1920 Pass.]

113. Who were the Jesuits? What do you know of their history from their foundation till the bull of Pope Clement XIV regarding them [C. U. 1912, Hon.]

Book III.

114. Describe France before the Revolution. How far were the evils which then existed, remedied? [C. U. 1911, Pass.]

115. What were the main causes of the French Revolution? [C. U. 1909, 1920, Pass.]

116. How far did the 'philosopher kings and statesmen' of the 18th century in Europe anticipate the work of the French Revolution? [C. U. 1916 Hon].

117. 'Long before the Revolution of 1789, there had occurred a revolution in the world of ideas.' Elucidate. [C. U. 1921 Pass.]

118. 'Fiscal causes lay at the root of the French Revolution'. Illustrate. [C. U. 1922 Pass.]

119. Give some account of the French system of government before the Revolution. How, briefly, does it compare with that which we find under the first Empire? [C. U. 1912 Pass].

120. "The French Revolution destroyed feudalism, which had provoked it." Criticise the statement.

121. What were the abuses in France in the time of Turgot? By what measures did he attempt to save the French monarchy, and why did he fail? [C. U. 1909, 1917, 1919 Pass].

122. Trace the history of the French Revolution from the assembling of the States-General to (*a*) the end of the Monarchy, or (*b*) the death of Louis XVI. [C. U. 1912 Pass, 1916 Pass].

123. Write a short history of the Girondins. Compare the principle and policy of the Girondists with those of the Jacobins, and account for the fall of the Girondist party. [C. U. 1910 and 1916 Hon].

124. Write a short history of the doings of the Convention in the French Revolution. [C. U. 1911 Hon].

125. Give a short account of the 'Reign of Terror' in France. [C. U. 1921 Pass].

126. Examine the statement—"Louis XVI perished the victim of passions which he did not share." What were the immediate results of the execution of Louis XVI?

127. What were the main outlines of the constitution of 1791 in France? Compare it with that of 1795. [C. U. 1909 Hon].

128. Trace the history of the French Revolution from the death of Louis XVI to the *Coup d' etat* of the 18th Brumaire. [C. U. 1913 Pass].

129. What do you know of the Thermidorian reaction in France?

130. Briefly review the parts played by (*a*) Mirabeau, (*b*) Danton, (*c*) Robespierre in the history of the French Revolution. [C. U. 1923 Pass].

131. Why did the French invade Italy in 1796? Give an account of their policy there down to 1815. [C. U. 1910 Pass].

132. Discuss Napoleon's account of the outbreak of war in 1803 and the breach of the Peace of Amiens. [C. U. 1918 Hon].

133. State the circumstances that led to the establishment of the Consulate in France. Give a brief account of the internal administration and the foreign policy of the Consulate.

134. Examine the statement, "By the end of 1802 the government of France had become practically *monarchical*; a change of title was needed to put an end to the Republic."

135. "The Continental system is the most stupendous proof of Napoleon's incapacity as a statesman." What was the Continental system and what were its effects on the Napoleonic Empire?

136. Describe briefly the Peninsular War. Name in order of date the chief battles faught in its course. Show the importance of the war. [C. U. 1909, 1916 Pass].

137. Draw a sketch-map showing the position and extent of Napoleon's Empire and its dependent states in 1810. [C. U. 1909 Hon, 1920 Pass].

138. What do you know about the Russian disaster of Napoleon, and show how it proved fatal to him after all?

139. Illustrate, from the leading events in the career of Napoleon from the rupture of the Peace of Amiens to the Battle of Waterloo, the causes of the downfall of his power. [C. U. 1917 Pass]. Analyse the causes of Napoleon's downfall. [C. U. 1922 Pass].

140. Characterize in some detail the Napoleonic system of government, and show that it was but a survival of the old régime of France. [C. U. 1918 Pass].

141. 'Napoleon was one of the greatest social reformers of the world.' [C. U. 1921 Pass].

142. Explain the character and importance of the reforms effected in Prussia after the battle of Jena by Stein and his colleagues. [C. U. 1918 Pass].

143. Briefly describe the part played by Stein in the organisation of the German Empire. [C. U. 1917 Pass].

144. "The deepest cause which made the French Revolution so disastrous to liberty was its theory of Equality." Explain fully. [C. U. 1912 Hon].

145. How much of the work accomplished in the first two and a half years of the French Revolution can be considered permanent? [C. U. 1918 Hon]

146. In what sense is it true to say that (*a*) France, (*b*) Germany, (*c*) Italy owe their salvation to Napoleon? [C. U. 1923 Pass].

147. "As for Germany, the Napoleonic wars had been a blessing in disguise." Explain. [C. U. 1922 Pass].

148. Indicate the general results of the French Revolution.

149. 'The French Revolution inaugurated, a new era not only for France, but for the whole world.' Illustrate. [C. U. 1923 Pass].

Book IV.

150. What were the questions settled in the Congress of Vienna? How far were these settlements permanent? [C. U. 1915, and 1920 Pass].

151. How far is it true to say that the Congress of Vienna (1815) violated the principle of Nationality?

152. What were the original aims of the Holy Alliance and what were its subsequent developments? [C. U. 1914 Pass].

153. Explain the statement—"The government of the Holy Alliance devoted themselves to suppress with equal care the revolutionary spirit by which they had been threatened and the national spirit by which they had been restored." [C. U. 1912 Pass].

154. Give a short history of the Holy Alliance, and contrast the policy of Canning with that of Metternich in European affairs. [C. U. 1918 Hon].

155. Give some account of the life and policy of Metternich. [C. U. 1910 Pass].

156. 'The spirit of the monarchical restoration of 1815 was incarnate in the celebrated Austrian minister, Metternich.' Discuss. [C. U. 1921 Pass].

157. Estimate the importance of the July Revolution of 1830 on the history of Europe. [C. U. 1923 Pass].

158. Trace the progress in the movement towards the unification of Italy from the fall of Napoleon to the Revolution of 1848, and show how far the principle of

nationality helped in the formation of the kingdoms of Greece and Belgium. [C. U. 1919 Pass].

159. Write a history of the Revolution of 1848 in France. Show how it led to the establishment of the Empire by Napoleon III. [C. U. 1910, 1922 Pass].

160. Sketch the events of the year 1848 in Europe. [C. U. 1911, 1916 Pass].

161. What were the causes of the various revolutions of 1848? In what instances can those revolutions be said to have been successful? [C. U. 1913 Pass].

162. Compare the Revolutions of 1848 with those of 1830. State the events which led to the foundation of the Second Empire in France. [C. U. 1910 Hon, 1914 Pass].

163. "The history of France under Napoleon III, as under Napoleon I, is the history of every country in Europe except France." Explain and illustrate. [C. U. 1912 Hon].

164. Describe the activities of Napoleon III from 1856 to 1870. Give a short sketch of the foreign policy of Napoleon III. [C. U. 1918, Hon; 1921, Pass].

165. Dwell on the constitution of the Third Republic, and mention the dangers that it had to face with before the close of the nineteenth century.

166. Trace the growth of Italian unity from 1815. [C. U. 1909, 1913, 1915 Pass].

167. Give some account of Cavour. [C. U. 1910 Pass, 1911 Hon, 1912 Pass]. Criticise his career and policy. How far in your opinion, was he the creator of united Italy? [C. U. 1916 Pass].

168. 'Cavour was the real maker of modern Italy.' Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. [C. U. 1922 Pass].

169. Who were the makers of Italian unity? Mark the steps by which the unification of Italy was accomplished. [C. U. 1917 Pass].

170. Attempt an estimate of the parts played by (*a*) Victor Emmanuel II, (*b*) Cavour, (*c*) Garibaldi, (*d*) Mazzini in the struggle for Italian unity. [C. U. 1922 Pass].

171. Compare the policy of Cavour with that of Bismarck. [C. U. 1919 Pass].

172. What do you know of the Schleswig-Holstein question? [C. U. 1912 Hon].

173. Give the history of Austria-Hungary after the battle of Sadowa explaining incidentally the international aspect of the 'Dualism' as prevails there.

174. What were the causes of the Franco-Prussian War on the French side? [C. U. 1918 Pass].

175. Briefly describe the parts played by (*a*) Stein, and (*b*) Bismarck in the organization of the German Empire. [C. U. 1917 Pass].

176. 'Bismarck was one of Germany's greatest sons —the greatest since Frederick the Great or Luther.' Expand. [C. U. 1921 Pass].

177. 'Bismarck will rank in history as one of the few great founders of states.' Discuss. [C. U. 1923 Pass].

178. Trace the history of the 'Near Eastern Question' from the Treaty of Kutschuk Kainardji until 1878.

179. Explain the importance of the 'Near Eastern Question' in the history of Europe in the 19th century. [C. U. 1922 Pass].

180. Briefly indicate the nature of the policy adopted by England, France, and Russia towards the Turkish Empire during the nineteenth century. [C. U. 1923 Pass].

181. Give the main features of the history of England during the 19th century.

182. Dwell on the political history of Ireland from 1800 to 1914.

183. What do you know of the foreign policy of England during the 19th century since the battle of Waterloo.

184. Give a history of the liberal movements in Russia during the latter half of the 19th century.

Book V.

185. Trace the political affinities of the European powers from the latter part of the 19th century till the outbreak of the Great War.

186. Give a brief history of the disruption of the Ottoman Empire early in the twentieth century.

187. 'The Balkan wars were the prelude to the Great War of 1914.' Explain.

188. Mention the circumstances that led to the Great War. Point out the interests of the combatant states in the war, and say how far they have been realised by the Peace of Versailles.

189. (*a*) The extent to which the Renaissance affected the nations of Europe ; (*b*) Growth of the British Empire from 1600 to 1878 ; (*c*) Napoleon's Continental System ; (*d*) Importance of Spain in Modern History ; (*e*) Belgium is the battle-field of Europe ; (*f*) Lessons to be learned from the history of Italy in the 19th century and (*g*) Growth of the idea of *Nationality* in Europe in the 19th century.

190. (1) Swabian League ; (2) *Janissaries ;* (3) Letters of Indulgences ; (4) League of Schmalkalde ; (5) Augsburg Interim ; (6) the Inquisition ; (7) the Council of Blood ; (8) the Guises ; (9) *'Bed of Justice' ;* (10) Chambers of Reunion ; (11) *Pragmatic Sanction ;* (12) Jesuits ; (13) Jansenists ; (14) The States-General ; (15) Committee of Public Safety ; (16) Sonderbund ; (17) Vorparlament ; (18) Zollverein ; (19) The Triple Alliance ; (20) League of Nations.

INDEX.

Biographical.

NAMES.	PAGES.
Alberoni	211, 221
Alva	85, 86
Bismarck	343-345, 347, 349-351
Borgia Cæsar	11
Brienne	235
Calonne	235
Calvin John	50—53
Canning	302
Caraffa	68, 75, 79
Cavour	334—38, 340—41, 351
Choiseul	224
Colbert	147—48
Conde	141—44, 149
Disraeli	365, 366, 371
Farnese, Alexander (Prince of Parma)	88
Fleury, Cardinal	222
Garibaldi	321, 337, 338
Gladstone	358, 359, 365, 366
Guises, The	96, 97, 102
Gustavus Vasa	54—55
Gustavus Adolphus	55—56, 115—117
John (of Austria), Don	80, 87—88
Kaunitz	179—80, 195, 249
Knox, John	63—64
Kosciusko	206
Kossuth	318, 319
Loyola, Ignatius	73
Luther, Martin	39—45
Mansfeld, Ernest of	114, 115
Maurice, Duke of Saxony	45, 46
Maurice, Prince of Nassau	90
Mazarin Cardinal	140—145
Mazzini	321, 334
Mehemet Ali	369—70
Metternich	278, 281, 291—92, 295—96, 297, 300 303, 309, 310, 317
Mirabeau	337, 241, 244—45
Necker	234, 235, 238, 239, 241—45
Nelson	263, 271
Orange, William I (the Silent)	84—89
Oxenstiern	56
Pitt, William (the Elder)	197, 214—15, 216
Pitt, William (the Younger)	253, 263, 267, 271, 287, 352
Pombal	225
Requesens	86—87
Richelieu Cardinal	106, 118, 136—140
Robespierre	248, 249, 252, 254, 255—59
Sobieski	201
Stein	279—80, 282
Sully, Duke of	104
Tilly	115, 116, 117
Turgot	233—34
Wallenstein	115—118
Walpole, Sir Robert	212—213
Wellington, Duke	276, 283, 289
Wilson, President	389, 401, 402
Wolsey, Cardinal	23, 31, 58
Zwingli, Ulrich	49—50

OPINIONS.

I.

Mr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, M.A., formerly Professor of History, Allahabad University, and at present Director of the Central Bureau of Information, Government of India and Author of 'India in 1919, &c.' writes from Camp Allahabad, Home Department,—

"Thank you very much for giving me your two books on the 'Outlines of Modern Europe' and 'Elizabethan Age'. I think these will be extremely useful, and should satisfy a very wide demand.* * *."

II.

Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, M.A., P.R.S., PH.D., *formerly* Assistant Professor of History, Calcutta University, and at present Professor of History, Dacca University writes—

"I have looked into 'Outlines of Modern Europe' by Prof. D. N. Dutta, M.A., B.L. It aims to give in a short compass a connected outline of the history of Europe during the period 1453-1900. The book is written on a *good plan*, and no important topics are left untouched. I believe it will be of great help to students reading the history of Europe for the B. A. examination. The get-up of the book is excellent and the price very moderate."

III.

Dr. Gouranga Nath Banerjee, M.A., P.R.S., PH.D., F.R.S.A. (Lond.), Fellow of the Oriental Society, England, Member of the Egyptian Association, Manchester, Asst. Professor of History and Secretary, Post-Graduate Council of Arts, Calcutta University, &c., writes—

"I have read with great pleasure Prof. D. N. Dutt's 'Outlines of Modern Europe'. The book seems to be prepared on a *novel plan*, and will *fully meet* the wants of those for whom it is intended. It is written in a graceful style and with much accurate information as regards dates and events. Prof. Dutta has very nicely put such a vast amount of facts in his little volume. As it is, I wish him every success in his literary career."